THE AUGUSTINIAN REVOLUTION IN THEOLOGY

THOMAS ALLIN, D.D.

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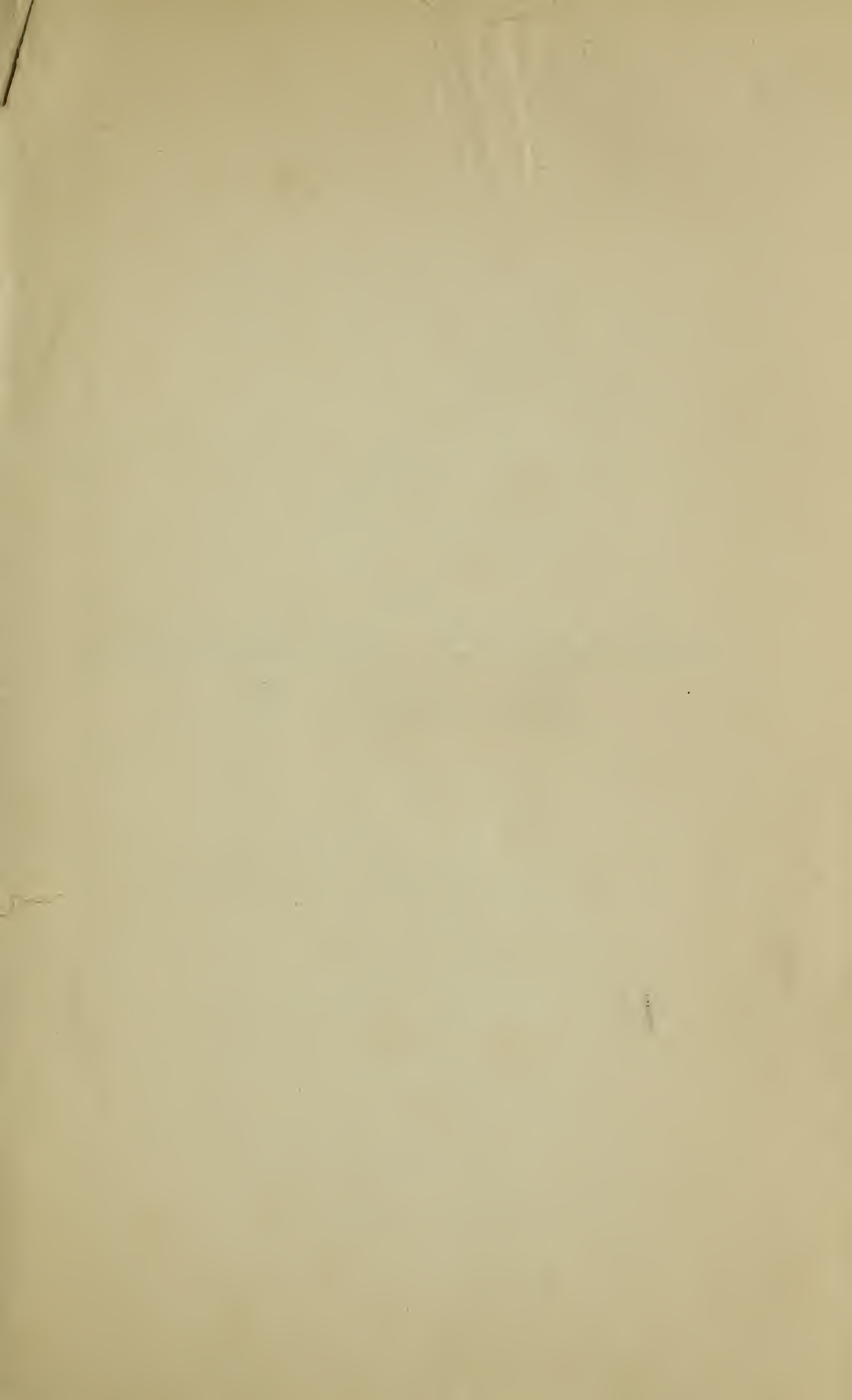

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AUGUSTINIAN REVOLUTION IN THEOLOGY

ILLUSTRATED BY A COMPARISON WITH THE TEACHING OF THE ANTIOCHENE DIVINES OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

(BY THE EDITOR)

When I was asked to find an editor for the present work I gladly undertook the task myself, first, on account of the deep respect I have long felt for the thoroughness, originality, and many-sidedness of the author, and next, on account of the difficulty, which amounted almost to an impossibility, of finding anyone who would enter sympathetically into the task. The views expressed here and elsewhere by the author are altogether untinged by the *popularis aura*, and yet, or may I not rather say *therefore*, for many reasons, it is desirable that they should be made public, in order to their careful and impartial consideration, and this because of the light they throw on questions which have hitherto been approached with prepossessions not altogether justified by the facts. The editor might have excused himself on account of

his own advanced age; and this has undoubtedly stood in the way of as thorough examination of the authorities quoted as might have been desired. But the citations have not been neglected. A large majority of them have been carefully examined, and, startling as many of them will seem to the reader, they have been found correct. It may, I think, fairly be assumed that in the few which it has not been found possible to investigate thoroughly, the same amount of correctness will be found as in the rest. I have not been able to identify the quotations from Chrysostom at all, because the author has not stated from what edition they are taken. They are not taken, like the others, from Migne's *Patrologia.* One reason for my venturing to undertake my task is that, though I never met the author face to face, I was introduced to him by a friend who was himself a man of great originality of mind, and who also occupied an unique position in the realm of theological thought. The result was that the MS. of the author's "Race and Religion" was sent to me before publication, and I had a vigorous corre-

spondence with its author in consequence. Only a part of the original work was published, the author having reserved the other portions for more detailed treatment. This has ultimately been given to the public in the present work. I have, therefore, for some time been acquainted with the general character of the author's treatment of the subject, and I believe that his work will be found to fill up the many details which have hitherto been lacking. I have personally long been of the opinion that the reputation of the famous Syrian theologian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, has suffered very seriously from his treatment in the Nestorian controversy, and that he deserves rehabilitation as in the main an orthodox divine. We must remember that he never defied the verdict of the Church, for the simple reason that no such verdict was ever pronounced against him while he lived. He died "in the peace of the Church," as his champions in the Nestorian controversy did not fail to point out. In the conflicts of centuries the truth has been altogether forgotten that both he and his great Alexandrian prototype Origen, whether

all their opinions were sound or not, were not heretics in the proper sense of the term, that is to say, they did not indulge in the arbitrary choice of their opinions, and persist in them against the deliberate verdict of the Church, pronounced after full and impartial consideration. Such full and impartial consideration could hardly be said to have been given in the heated discussions over their writings which took place after their death. The fact is that the great Alexandrian and the great Syrian divine were really pioneers of the free inquiry which the Christian Church has never formally condemned. That they made mistakes is undeniable. *Humanum est errare*, and when we consider the vast area of thought which they traversed, it was obviously impossible for them to avoid mistakes. The true heretic is he who persists in his error when it is pointed out. The subsequent arraignment of Origen's opinions during the long disputes which raged concerning him is as often wrong as right. That he was often grossly misrepresented during the protracted and bitter controversy which raged over his writings, no

impartial person will be found willing to deny. Many of his mistakes, moreover, are mere *obiter dicta*, thrown out for fuller consideration. And he often corrected them himself when he had an opportunity of considering them more fully. Such was the case with his famous suggestion that the price paid by the Redeemer "for us men and for our salvation" was paid to the devil. Most of those who have undertaken to tell posterity what he really taught on that subject have overlooked a passage in which he remarks that the doctrine of Atonement is a very complex subject, embracing some considerations which are extremely simple, and some which, on the contrary, are shrouded in the deepest mystery.[1] It had been well if those who came after him, and endeavoured to reduce a mighty mystery into two or three simple propositions, had fully pondered his warning. Another instance is the fact that Origen frequently calls St. Peter the Rock. But when he comes to explain the passage in St. Matthew on which that mistake is founded he abandons the error and tells us

[1] See his 6th Homily on St. John's Gospel, c. 37.

that the Rock was not St. Peter, but his confession of Christ. Theodore also unquestionably fell into error on the question of the Person of Christ. But so, as unquestionably, did Cyril of Alexandria. It is an outrage to common fairness that the former great divine should be handed down to the latest posterity as a heretic, while the latter, who was certainly his inferior in temper and fairness, and in not a few other ways, should be regarded as a canonized saint.[1] Whatever may be the faults of the present age, and, in the opinion of the writer at least, they are neither few nor light, it may at least be confidently expected of it that it will replace many of these luminaries of old time in the position which they have deserved to occupy, but from which they have been hurled by the *odium theologicum*. The author's treatment of Augustine may be deemed harsh. But I am bound

[1] It is a credit to those concerned in the work of Migne's *Patrologia* that Theodore is spoken of in the most honourable terms, and is not denied the title of *universæ ecclesiæ doctor*. Tillemont, the great ecclesiastical historian, says of him that his memory embraced the whole Bible.

to confess that it is borne out by the passages quoted by the author, so far as I have been enabled to verify them. The incalculable extent of Augustine's influence over the West in succeeding ages, which even the Reformation failed to overthrow, may to a certain extent be explained by the fact that he was *felix opportunitate vitæ*. Writing, as he did, just when the Roman Empire, and with it the political, social, and intellectual influences which it had gathered around it, was on the point of being destroyed—at a time when civilized society was reduced for ages to its constituent elements—he had no competitor for at least 800 years. This advantage, reinforced as it was by his large grasp of theological problems, and by the strength of a vigorous and absolutely merciless logic, as well as by literary gifts of no ordinary kind, he reigned without a rival over the religious thought of the West, at least, until the Scholastic philosophy arose. But the Schoolmen themselves were largely under his influence, so that the intellectual influences of the thirteenth century only served

to establish his authority more firmly. His celebrated *Confessions* contained the one thing yet wanting to secure his ascendency over the rude ages when the work of the Greek Dramatists was forgotten, and when Dante and Shakespeare had not yet arisen. This was the human element contained in a work eagerly perused by millions who have not read a single line of Augustine's other writings. It is a bold thing to attempt, as our author does, to attack the foundations on which Augustine's fascination for mankind have so long rested. But it seems to the writer impossible to deny that his later religious beliefs were coloured by the heresy and scepticism of his earlier days, as well as by the grave moral lapses which he so nobly and so frankly confesses. The thought of Origen and Theodore was far wiser, fairer, broader and purer than that of Augustine. And theirs were speculations which invited inquiry, instead of composing, like his, a system riveted on the human mind by a rigorous logic. The God, moreover, whom the Greek and Syrian theologians asked us to fall down and

worship, was removed as far as the poles from the stern potentate Augustine imagined —One who ruled the worlds with rigour rather than with love. Not that there was no compensation in his writings. Long after the change which, as our author remarks, took place in Augustine's opinions, "two nations" continued to "struggle in the womb" of his thoughts. The broader and more genial spirit of the older Catholic theology broke out sporadically in his later writings from time to time, strangely inconsistent as it was with the conceptions his strange and startling experiences contrived to impose upon him. But in the chaos in thought and morals, in society and politics, which reigned around him, and for centuries after his death, his later religious system dominated the monasteries—the only places where reflection and inquiry could then find refuge. A few faint protests were heard at first—notably in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins—from men who, though no doubt wiser and more far-seeing than himself, were incomparably his inferiors in every other respect. Until the middle of the

nineteenth century he continued to dominate Christian theology, and even to this hour it requires some courage to dispute his sway. Yet the author of this book seems to me to have made it clear that Augustine's system was more harsh and cruel than it has hitherto been supposed to be, and that even Calvin did but feebly echo the stern sentence of eternal vengeance upon those who were, not for their own merits or demerits, but by the stern *fiat* of an irreversible Will, condemned before the world began to "everlasting destruction from the Presence of God."

Before I conclude I must be allowed to enter into an explanation on one or two points. It must not be supposed that, because I am in thorough general agreement with the author, that I make myself responsible for every expression of opinion in his book. It might seem needless to make this reservation, since no two persons can be found who agree on every point. But all persons are not equally fair and reasonable, and there are many who would not scruple to make an editor responsible

for every statement contained in the work he has agreed to edit. In particular, I should mention the fact that the author is a convinced Universalist, and has maintained his opinions in a work of much ability. Now, though I go as far as the late Lord Tennyson in entertaining

> "The wish that of the living whole
> No life may fail beyond the grave,"

I cannot follow him in his suggestion that to entertain such a wish makes the person who entertains it to be more like God. Such assumptions seem to me to be particularly characteristic of the present age. I dare not constitute myself a critic of my Maker. And as what I believe to contain the Revelation of His Spirit ascribes to the Word made Flesh certain expressions which appear to imply that some souls may ultimately "fail" to attain salvation, it is not for me to arrogate to myself superior wisdom or goodness by disputing such a statement. The opinions on the universe of one of those *ephemerides* whose life does not extend beyond twelve hours would hardly be felt to be of much use to humanity. And

our judgments on such matters must, I am convinced, seem as futile and absurd in the eyes of Him Who is from Eternity, and holds the universe in the hollow of His Hands. Therefore I am content to leave such matters in those Hands, and humbly to accept the salvation which He has declared Himself willing to bestow on all who are willing to receive it. I conclude with the reiterated expression of my belief that such a book as this deserved publication, and that whether all the conclusions to which it arrives are ultimately accepted or not, the question of which it treats still awaits the impartial and thorough discussion which it cannot be said to have as yet received.

J. J. LIAS.

HAYWARD'S HEATH,
July, 1911.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In our ecclesiastical map, if the term may be allowed, there are at least two spaces which need to be filled up with more accuracy of detail. While few men know the Hellenist theology with any completeness, fewer still have any real acquaintance with the once famous school of Antioch in the fifth and following centuries. Travellers bent on theological discovery, if they journey eastwards, do not, as a rule, pass beyond Alexandria; very rarely do they penetrate to the rival centre, Antioch, the theologians of which at one time stood, in point of intellect, nearly on a par with the renowned teachers at Alexandria, and may be fairly said to have been superior to their rivals in the important domain of Scriptural interpretation as well as in missionary zeal. Grave suspicions, it is true, have gathered round Antioch and its theology, but in this twentieth century intelligent and independent thought will not be content to shake

its head and pass on because of suspicions entertained in ages of ignorance and violence. Men of the present era will be inclined to go over the evidence afresh and endeavour to discover what manner of men these Antiochenes were, "nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice."

Antioch, it cannot be denied, produced the most eloquent preachers of all primitive times, and probably the greatest commentators and missionaries also, and its adherents in ages past far outnumbered those of any Hellenist school, and were spread over a wider area. It is only fair, therefore, to inquire what was the real belief of these men, and what the character of their teaching. This I shall try to state in their own words, and not in the language of any text-book.

The attempt to fill in a blank space in our map will occupy the first part of the following volume. The second part will take us nearer home, to a region where, strange to say, we have not too little, but too much, information. I mean North Africa, where the famous Augustine, at

whose feet we all have sat, lived and taught, though, perhaps, we know it not. In this direction we are even blinded by excess of light—so much so that we cannot "see the wood for the trees." The world has heard so much of Augustine that the man himself remains concealed. An ideal Augustine has been substituted for the actual one. There is a great lack of first-hand acquaintance with his individuality. Scarcely one man in a thousand has read Augustine's works with any approach to thoroughness, and among the innumerable text-books which have spun theological cobwebs round his memory, not a single one exists which has not substituted fancy images in place of the true man. Thus we have learned to bend the knee to an imaginary figure, to venerate not the genuine Augustine but an *Augustinus poeticus*, if the expression may be pardoned, a sort of sublimated personality, as he stands in the well-known picture, by the side of his mother, looking like a second Elijah ready to soar heavenward. Nor is it inappropriate to call him an "Elijah,"

for Augustine, as we shall see, is rather of the Old Testament than of the New—a man far more ready to call down fire from heaven than to teach the Gospel of Jesus Christ—one in whom, at least towards the close of his life, the instincts of the fierce and cruel African have gained an unhappy mastery, and have become blended with the Manichæanism never wholly banished from his mind.

Augustine, as I shall try to show, and always on the authority of his own writings, was in very truth the greatest revolutionary of primitive times. By sheer force of genius and strength of will he deflected and darkened the whole course of Christian thought in the West. He left Latin Christendom, at his death, the dreadful legacy of belief in an angry and cruel Deity, at whose feet the whole human family lay in terror; destined to perdition already, before birth, and never in any sense redeemed by Jesus Christ—not sons of God but slaves, and with no claim on God except an appeal to an occult justice which no man, no saint, no angel, could hope to understand. I do not write rhetorically,

but in soberest and saddest earnest—and pledge myself to make good, and more than make good, every word I have here written. For this great man's influence extended for evil, as his writings show, over practically nearly the whole field of human activity, social and political, no less than religious.

I have now briefly indicated the scope ot this small volume. We shall see the contrast between Antioch and North Africa brought into clear relief when we come to consider the case of the Pelagians who fled from Augustine to seek shelter among the Antiochenes. But, in considering these two schools, there remains a still wider and even fundamental question which I shall endeavour to impress on those who may read the following pages. Incidentally they will learn to appreciate the deep and vital differences which separate Latin and Hellenistic thought — differences which are so far-reaching as to constitute almost, if not quite, two distinct religions—two differing versions of Christianity, for, though nominally serving the same Lord and Master, I dare to say they proclaimed two wholly

divergent conceptions of God. The accents in which they speak are unlike, their motives differ vitally, and the whole atmosphere they breathe is different. These are, I grant, strong statements, but they do not in the least go beyond the facts of the case. Finally, I may perhaps remark that, while writing in popular language, I have in every case gone to the original authorities for facts and quotations.

THE

AUGUSTINIAN REVOLUTION IN THEOLOGY

PART I

THE ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL

I. *Theodore of Mopsuestia*

A STORY is told of St. Bernard that he was accustomed to require of all who sought from him spiritual help "to come with the spirit only; leaving the body behind." Difficult as this condition may have been, something similar is needed as a pre-requisite for a study of such a school as that of Antioch. We must come with the spirit of impartiality only, leaving the body of prejudice and suspicion behind us. Antioch, now a miserable shrunken town of 5,000 souls, was then a city

containing perhaps 500,000 inhabitants.[1] It lay, beautiful for situation, on the slopes of Mount Silpius, looking over the sea and the rich and fertile plain through which the broad Orontes of historic fame meandered down to the Mediterranean shore. Cyprus, the island home of Barnabas, lay in the near distance from its mouth. Be it remembered that it was not an Oriental city but the Greek capital of the Seleucids, enriched and adorned by the munificence of many Kings, and a centre of Greek culture and thought. It was as luxurious as it was splendid, and the celebrated grove of Daphne was devoted to all that could minister to the lust of the flesh and of the eyes.[2] It also contained perhaps the largest Christian community of the second century A.D. It may indeed be called the second metropolis of Christianity. Here it was that the wandering Hellenists

[1] So Farrar, "Life of St. Paul," p. 162, but Chrysostom, Hom. iii., on the Statues, says that the population was too great for calculation. Elsewhere, however, he says that it contained 200,000 inhabitants, of whom 100,000 were Christians. See in Milman's edition of Gibbon, ch. xxiii.

[2] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," *l.c.*

laid the first foundation of a Gentile Church. A very brief sketch of what Barnabas and Paul found when they came to Antioch may perhaps be pardoned here. Through the entire length of Antioch there ran for nearly five miles a Corso or Boulevard lined with trees, colonnades, and statues, due to the munificence of Seleucus, and of Herod the Great, who had paved it for two miles and a half with blocks of white marble. Here the disciples were first called Christians. Hither came Barnabas bringing Saul to minister to the infant Church, even then very numerous, a point on which the narrative in the Acts lays unusual stress.[1] We may imagine our two travellers entering the city by this route, resting under columns which bordered the road, and planning their future labours on behalf of the Gospel. In such a Church provision was doubtless made very early for systematic instruction, which developed towards the end of the third century into a famous school under the presbyter Lucian,[2] as well as Dorotheus (of whom less is known).

[1] Acts xi. 21, 24, 26.

[2] Martyred in 311.

The Syrian Church[1] falls into two main divisions. That of the west had Antioch as its centre and comprised the cities Hierapolis, Laodicea, Emesa, and Samosata, all of which have men of reputation as their representatives in history. In the eastern division[2] the chief centres were Edessa and Nisibis,[3] in the northern part of Mesopotamia, and Seleucia Ctesiphon and Babylon in the southern. The Church of Antioch had a Syrian translation of the New Testament as early as the middle of the second century,[4] and many Christian hymns had been long in use. In fact, everything indicates, even at this early date, great activity and a widespread Christianity. It is worth noting that at this early time the Syrian mind had been awakened to the study of Holy

[1] See Dorner, "Doctrine of the Person of Christ," ii. i. 26.

[2] Here, as in the western portion, Greek was the language of culture.

These, especially Edessa, possessed schools of theology even before Antioch.

[4] [The Peshito, or Syrian Vulgate, is now considered by many scholars to have been a later revision of this ancient version.—Ed.]

Scriptures.[1] So practically complete had been the Hellenisation of the East, that all the teachers in the Antiochene school of whom we shall here treat, wrote and possibly thought in Greek, though doubtless familiar also with the Syrian vernacular. We should naturally expect a strong infusion of Orientalism in a school so situated geographically. But this was hardly the case except in the extreme east, where we see a tendency to theosophy and asceticism.[2] But as regards the western Antiochenes we find a logical and rational tone of thought displaying greater moderation than is found in Alexandrian theology, which in the days of Cyril tended to the absorption of the human into the Divine nature of Christ. Yet though the Antiochene school declined to go so far as this, it nevertheless insisted on the dignity of manhood, as created by God in His own image.

[1] The first harmony of the Gospels was the work of the Syrian Tatian in the second century.

[2] Monasteries were very numerous in this region from the fourth century onward.

The theologians of this school who wrote in Syriac belong to a somewhat later date —the period when, after the condemnation of Nestorius, its teachers crossed the border into Persia and other regions where the writ of the Roman Empire did not run, and where, therefore, they were free to teach as they pleased, and were even protected for political reasons. It is worth noting as an illustration of the narrow lines in which our ideas of ecclesiastical history still run, that we find a practical ignorance prevailing very widely even now as to the great school of Antioch, an ignorance which is made worse by unreasonable depreciation of the supposed tendencies of the school. I gladly hail the recent appearance of Mr. Bethune-Baker's study of Nestorius, which is a remarkable vindication of his standpoint and teaching.[1] And if, as Mr. Bethune-Baker puts it, Nestorius is found "not to be a Nestorian," how much more is the orthodoxy of the great Syrian teacher, Theodore of

[1] In his "Bazaar of Heraclides," an account of a lost work of Nestorius, which has been almost miraculously preserved.

Mopsuestia, vindicated when we remember that, like Origen before him, he was a pioneer of theological research, and that if, once more like his prototype, he fell into mistakes occasionally, he died, as Theodoret takes care to remind us, uncondemned by the Church.

To Theodore, no doubt, Nestorius was indebted for his theology, and it has now become perfectly clear that Nestorius saw and protested against a real danger to the Christian religion in the Monophysite tendencies of his rival Cyril, to avert which his theology was designed. The teaching of the Alexandrian School unmistakeably tended to obscure the real humanity of Jesus Christ and to substitute for the true manhood of Christ the absorption of His human into His Divine nature. It seems pretty clear that Nestorius, who was not heard in his own defence at Ephesus, was, in spite of some injudicious and sometimes unsound utterances, in substantial agreement with the orthodox position, as taught by Pope Leo in his famous letter to Flavian and by the Fourth General Council. Indeed, Mr.

Bethune-Baker is not afraid to say that the ideas for which Nestorius and the whole School of Antioch contended really won the day as regards the doctrinal definition of the Church, though Nestorius himself was sacrificed to save the face of the Alexandrian patriarch, or, to put it in another shape, was a victim to the jealousy and ambition of Cyril.

If I may say so, two great names, and two only, tower above their fellows in the Eastern Churches, Origen of Alexandria and Theodore of Mopsuestia. I do not mean to assert that the genius of Theodore reached to so high a level as that of Origen, nor that the former possessed the special attraction for future ages of the great Alexandrian, who in spite of all aspersions has remained the most striking figure among the Church's great divines. The speculative power of Origen surpassed that of the Antiochene teacher. His philosophy was more profound, and his genius more original, yet Theodore, if less gifted as a philosopher, was perhaps the more statesmanlike and practical of the two, and certainly a

safer, if less daring, guide than Origen. Both men agreed in the necessity of a systematic statement of religious principles, and of a philosophy which should co-ordinate all known facts and combine them into a well-ordered whole. Other great men of those days—Athanasius, for instance—were absorbed for long and weary years in one great controversy which taxed all their energy and exhausted all their powers. Origen and Theodore had no temptation to exhaust their powers in this way. They were free to devote themselves to the laying down of principles. It was well that this was so, for they possessed the requisites necessary for their task, namely, a deep insight into mysteries, and the power of discerning the Divine purpose beneath the conflict and disorder which existed in the world around them. In originality of mind and breadth of vision they were unequalled in their age, and have seldom been approached since. Their outlook extended beyond time into eternity, and everywhere they saw "all things moving to one far-off Divine event." The whole creation,

spiritual as well as material, came within their purview, and they discerned the Divine Unity which underlay it all. So deep and profound was their conception of redemption that its efficacy overflowed, as it were, the limits of earth, and spread its healing waters over the spiritual universe. We must also note the fact that while both agreed in ascribing an ultimate victory to the redemptive plan of God, their conceptions were in some respects unlike and their standpoints distinct. Yet we may hazard a conjecture that had they been less optimistic they would have been less scorned by the Latin Church, tinctured with pessimism almost from the beginning, and more so than ever since the time of Augustine.

Before we enter upon an examination of the system of Theodore it may be necessary to explain the attitude of the Antiochene and Alexandrian Schools respectively toward two great questions, the internal relations of the Godhead, and the relation between the human and the Divine in the Incarnation. Simpler in appearance, the latter was the more difficult of solution

of the two. The first question was virtually decided at Nicæa, though the decision was not finally arrived at till the Council of Constantinople, fifty-six years later. But *four* great Councils hardly sufficed to dispose of the last. Dorner's famous work on the Person of Christ reminds one of a vast cemetery. Theory after theory was discussed, only to be rejected and speedily entombed, while, as it were, the ghosts of those theories move in sad procession along his pages. Two facts, however, should be steadily kept in view if we wish to understand the position of the School of Antioch—one political, one geographical.[1] Politically and ecclesiastically Antioch was a rival of Alexandria. The rivalry of their respective patriarchs is therefore a leading factor in the controversies which arose. The mushroom growth of Constantinople awakened still more serious jealousies, in which Rome had her full share. The struggle, therefore, was not merely one between rival doctrines, but between rival

[1] [The author does not appear to have dealt with the geographical question.—Ed.]

Patriarchates. One can easily estimate the feelings with which Alexandria saw a patriarch supplied from Antioch to Constantinople for the second time in succession in the person of the monk Nestorius. Rome was not one whit behindhand in her alarm at the progress of the new capital.

Nor was this all. The rival cities represented different tendencies and different theological standpoints. In Alexandria it was a period of religious conflict and theological innovation. Many were seeking to give new life to the popular heathenism, veiling in allegory its coarse and cruel elements. Plato had already allegorised Homer with the idea of thus reaching the hidden meaning of the Iliad. The New Platonists carried this attempt into more sacred fields. A distinguished school of Hellenized Jews applied this system to the Old Testament, hoping thus to shield the sacred story from the reproach of containing matter unworthy of a book purporting to be written by the inspiration of God. In the great Christian School of Alexandria

men like Pantænus, Clement and Origen worked in the same spirit, allegorising the text of the Bible where aught that they deemed trivial or unworthy was found (a process which St. Paul seemed to have authorised). We can easily perceive how fatal to the entire historic truth of the Bible this method must prove when carried out—as it was carried out—rigidly; since it possessed that indefinable charm which mysticism and allegory ever possess for devout and able minds of a certain class.]

It has often been said that every man is born a Platonist or an Aristotelian. If the School of Alexandria was Platonist that of Antioch was Aristotelian. Whether this was the outcome of an unconscious rivalry or from natural instinct, it would be vain to inquire. We must be content with the fact, and it marks and determines the entire scheme of thought of both these Schools. On this point our debt to Antioch is greater than most of us imagine. It is to this School that we must attribute the ultimate triumph of that sober textual exegesis which

has kept a steady middle course between mere literalism on the one hand and those allegorizing tendencies which made of the text of Scripture a playground for devout dreams and mystical fancies.

Modern theological thought has, as a rule, failed to perceive how deeply the Church at large is indebted to the School of Antioch in the matter of the exegesis of Scripture, as well as for its practical turn, as opposed to the mystical and imaginative fancies of its antagonists. Its methods, as we have seen, were historical rather than mystical. Its theories were based on facts rather than on ideals or assumptions. It started with man, not with God. Alexandria, on the contrary, based its theological system on the Divine side of things, laying down as a basis its own conceptions of the Divine Nature. Thus it unconsciously became one-sided, and fell into very real dangers which took very many forms, of which the most prominent was Monophysitism—a theory which either postulated the absorption of the Manhood of Christ into His Godhead or constructed a Christ who was neither man

nor God, but a kind of being intermediate to either. Even Athanasius says: "We confess and adore *One Nature* of God, the Word Incarnate."[1] It is not, therefore, too much to assert that the leaning of the whole Alexandrian School, from Origen onward, was virtually, if not openly, in this direction; and the Antiochenes in their resolute assertion of the true Manhood of the historic Christ, who certainly lived and worked as a man among men, were contending against a danger that was most real and most urgent. Even before Origen, Clement, then head of the Alexandrian School, was unwilling to believe that Jesus Christ really needed to eat or drink, thus rendering His humanity a mere appearance. And when the Antiochene doctrine was condemned, there is reason to believe that the whole Egyptian Church had practically adopted the Monophysite position—a position still held by their descendants, the present Coptic Church in Egypt, which, though long reduced to the deepest poverty, wretchedness and ignorance, still numbers many bishops and a

[1] Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," i. 390.

large body of clergy.[1] So persistent was the tendency against which the Antiochenes struggled that we find it emerging in various forms.

Thus there was a strong tendency in very many quarters, even on the part of men like Irenæus, Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus, to speak of the blending or mixture[2] of the human and Divine in our Lord. This practically meant the obliteration of the former. The Antiochenes were particularly opposed to this tendency, as it had appeared, in one shape at least, even within their own borders. Apollinarius had taught at Hierapolis that our Lord had no human soul, and that its place in His Being was supplied by the Divine Logos. Many of the writings of the great Theodore were directed against this heresy. We may be thankful to him to-day,

[1] [The condition of the Copts has been extraordinarily improved since the British occupation of Egypt, and the educated laity have within the last few years extorted from their ecclesiastical superiors a body of lay lecturers, empowered to give religious instruction in the churches.—Ed.]

[2] *μῖξις, κρᾶσις.*

for the tendency against which he protested is far from extinct. It may still be traced in our popular theology and may be found in more than one of our favourite hymns.

To the divines of Antioch it seemed an indispensable thing to assert prominently a human personality in Christ co-existing with His Divine Nature. They affirmed the divinity of Jesus Christ with perfect clearness, but in their view no true redemption was possible for the human race, unless One who was truly man and truly God shared all forms of human life, all phases of human experience, sin excepted. We can therefore see how the entire scheme of redemption appeared to them most gravely endangered if any doubt existed of the true Manhood of Jesus Christ. They, moreover, frankly accepted the Creed of Nicæa in regard to the Person of Christ, and the fact of redemption by Christ Jesus was central in their theology. They also, to their honour, remained true to that tradition which, even in Apostolic days, made Antioch a centre of missionary journeys. We must

in all fairness bear in mind the fact that while Church historians have dwelt on the errors of Antiochene theology, real or supposed, they have not always dwelt with equal emphasis on the fact that when North Africa and its Church were torn by schism and convulsed by the cruellest intestine strife, when the Church of Alexandria practically adopted Monophysitism, the despised Syrians carried the banner of the Cross to regions hardly visited by any traveller. Their missions penetrated to Hindoos and Chinese—to Bactrians, to Huns, to Persians, to Medes, to the coast of Malabar and the isles of the Indian Ocean—and in later ages even to Balch and Samarcand. The Christianity which produced fruits so noble, and which to such missionary zeal added in its famous school the lustre of great learning and earnest Biblical study, ought to receive full recognition from all who name the name of Christ. Surely such a record is not possible on the part of men sunk in deadly heresy. We must not forget how the unjust treatment of Nestorius gave a fresh impulse to the nascent Mariolatry which has pro-

duced such baneful results in East and West alike.

With these few words of introduction we come to particulars of the life and teaching of the great Theodore, who, if he occasionally fell into errors, at least devoted a long and laborious life to combating heresy in every form in which he recognised it, and who won for himself a fame throughout the East as a great master and interpreter of things Divine.

Born in Antioch in the year 350, of a noble and wealthy family, Theodore, with a small band, of whom Chrysostom was chief, abandoned, when not yet twenty years of age, all worldly prizes, and retired to a monastery near Antioch, under the charge of Carterius and Diodorus. Of Theodore's personal appearance no picture has survived. We shall, however, gain a clear idea of his personality from a letter addressed to him by Chrysostom himself: "Who," he says, "has not admired your quick, sincere and fervent conversion to what was good, when all festival luxury was neglected, all splendour of dress was despised, all pride trampled under foot,

all study of wisdom was at once transferred to the Divine Word? The whole of your days were devoted to reading, the whole of your nights given to prayer. You no longer thought of your family and station, nor remembered your wealth; you believed that to sit at the feet of the monks was a thing loftier than any rank." Such is Chrysostom's testimony of Theodore's contempt of wealth, rank, and family. It is also recorded of him that when many friends begged of him that he would return to the city and its occupations and pleasures, "What then," he replied, "if I live my life wrongly for a short time, how, in that case, shall I approach Him who said, 'Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and do not put it off from day to day.'"[1] This incident in Theodore's life had an interesting sequel. When, on account of family affairs, he returned to Antioch for a time, he met and was attracted by a beautiful girl, Hermione, whom he earnestly desired to marry. The letter just quoted is, in fact, part of an earnest remonstrance on Chrysostom's part against this

[1] See Migne, "Theod. Mops.," p. 15.

step. How deeply ascetic were the ideas of the time we may judge from the extravagant language used by Chrysostom on the subject. He tells Theodore that in his case to marry would be no less than to commit adultery. His remonstrances did not fail to attain their object. Theodore abandoned his project of marriage and returned to his monastery. We are further told that he, in common with other great divines of the period, including Chrysostom, studied rhetoric and literature under the celebrated heathen teacher Libanius, the friend of Julian, and the advocate of oppressed Christianity,[1] while he studied theology under the famous Diodorus, and also under Flavian, Bishop of Antioch.[2]

We must here interrupt our narrative of Theodore to give some account of the no less famous Diodorus, who, with Carterius, presided over a monastery near Antioch, where the young Theodore with his com-

[1] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," ch. xxiii., xxxii. (Milman and Smith's edition).

[2] "Flaviani magni pontificis amantissimus discipulus," Migne, 67, 563.

panions took up their residence as pupils.[1] He became one of the most renowned teachers in the School of Antioch, but his writings have nearly all been lost.[2] Trained in Athens under famous teachers, he was as great a proficient in heathen as in Christian literature, while his steadfast adherence to what he believed the Catholic faith, and his persevering and consistent defence of that faith during his whole life, won for him universal honour. As we have seen, he became the pupil and associate of Flavian of Antioch (not to be confounded with his namesake, Flavian of Constantinople), and the "guide, philosopher and friend" of such men as Theodore and Chrysostom. We further learn from the historian Socrates that at the Council of Constantinople in 381 the care of the Churches throughout the East was committed to him.[3]

[1] Socr., "Eccl. Hist.," vi. 3.

[2] Some fragments, however, are to be found in Catenæ.

[3] Socr., "Eccl. Hist.," v. 8. This commission, we further learn, was not to be used to the prejudice of Meletius, who was there recognised as the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch.

Flavian, the well-known Bishop of Antioch, describes his pupils Diodorus and Theodore as two rocks standing boldly out — rocks against which the waves of heresy beat in vain. The praises of Diodorus were also sung by Basil and Chrysostom. Theodoret —the able, moderate, yet consistent opponent of Monophysitism — tells us that Diodorus and Flavian, even when laymen, boldly stood up for the Catholic faith.[1] He describes them as working side by side for the Catholic faith in Antioch when Valens, the Arian Emperor, had turned the Catholics out of their churches, so that they were forced to hold services in the open air, in rain and storm or burning sunshine. He was even mentioned in a rescript from the Emperors to the Proconsul of Asia as a standard of orthodoxy to others.

Of this great man's personal appearance we catch an interesting if fugitive glimpse. The Emperor Julian writes to Photinus

[1] He quotes Athanasius to this effect, "Eccl. Hist," ii. 25; cf. v. 23. This was about A.D. 359, *before* the Council of Constantinople.

that when at Athens he had met Diodorus, and heard him "philosophising," that is, teaching, there. He describes him as bent and aged, emaciated and broken by suffering and austerities. His features were deeply furrowed, and bore evident traces of pain and penitential discipline. These were to Julian only so many marks of the vengeance of the gods of the heathen, against whom Diodorus had so long and so earnestly contended.[1]

We now return to Theodore. Some years after the letter of Chrysostom quoted above he became presbyter of Antioch, where he worked with Chrysostom (about 383), and followed his master to Tarsus, of which

[1] Diodorus was an Universalist. He says in a fragment from his book on the "Divine Plan" which has come down to us, "For the wicked there are punishments not perpetual, . . . but they are to be tormented for a certain brief period . . . according to the amount of malice in their works. They shall, therefore, suffer punishment for a short space, but *immortal blessedness* having no end *awaits them* . . . the penalties to be inflicted for their many and great crimes are very far surpassed by the magnitude of the mercy to be showed them." The resurrection, therefore, is regarded as a blessing not only to the good but also to the evil.

Diodorus had been made bishop, at a date not exactly known. By his aid, probably, Theodore in turn was raised to the See of Mopsuestia,[1] the second city of Cilicia Secunda, when forty-two years old, in the year 392 A.D.[2] He died toward the end of the year 428.

Our next task is to give a *conspectus* of Theodore's theological system.[3] It was designed to grasp in one synthesis the spiritual and moral history of our race; to point out its close relation to the wider history of spiritual beings in general; to trace the orbit of the Divine plan as guided by love, and issuing in a final and universal restoration — to produce, in a word, a philosophy of theology.

1. If Origen, with a clearness far in

[1] Mopsuestia (Μοψουεστία), *i.e.*, the seat or home of Mopsos, its king and founder, apparently a Greek colonist.

[2] See Migne, "Theod. Mops.," pp. 18—21.

[3] It may be well to mention here that Theodore always uses the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and it is doubtful whether he even was acquainted with Hebrew, though it would appear that he must have known Syriac, because of his criticising some Syriac version of the Old Testament.

advance of his age, taught the spiritual aspect of the Resurrection, as against the prevalent materialism, Theodore, with at least equal acuteness, perceived that the *anastasis* forms in the Gospel plan the crown and climax of redemption. This, he clearly perceived, is what is meant when, as repeatedly in the Acts of the Apostles, the Apostolic message is declared to be "Jesus and the Resurrection."

2. Another peculiarity of Antiochene theology was the placing God's image in man not in man's *rational* nature, but in his being *the visible representative of Deity on earth.* As an absent king sends his representative to a distant province to carry on the government in his name, so God has made man, His living image, His vicegerent below.

3. Another feature of this school is that they held that the goal of Redemption was not merely restoration, but elevation to a point higher than that of our first creation, in fact, a perfection of the whole (τελείωσις).

4. They also agreed with a vast body of Hellenists in maintaining that man does

not move alone towards this glorious end. It was a fixed principle of almost all Hellenists, whether in Syria or elsewhere, that the final destiny of all spiritual creatures is the same. They held that there is a solemn march of all rational beings throughout the universe towards Him who is their Author and their End. Age after age the great stream of life is growing; at every moment tributary rills pour in their waters. The tide flows on, majestic and resistless, till one day its waters reach that Ocean—without shore, without limit, without storm—that Ocean which is God; for out of Him flow, and to Him return, all things whatsoever. We shall hardly be able to do justice to Hellenism unless we try to stand for a moment where its writers stood. Neither can we understand the Syrian School unless we note the points in which it agreed with Hellenism as well as those in which the two schools are in antagonism. The Resurrection, in fact, is, according to Antiochene theology, a second and better creation of all humanity. It is not merely salvation, it is *life*. In harmony

with the best modern thought the Syrian School says :—

> " 'Tis LIFE, whereof our nerves are scant,
> More life and fuller that we want."

Its great exponent Theodore views the entire universe as slowly moving away from one pole to the other. In the history of all spiritual beings there are two supreme categories, one *mortality*, with instability, passion and disease as its attendants—the other immortality, with its synonyms, immutability and sinlessness. Between the two stands the Resurrection in splendour and dignity; before it we see change, sin, defects; after it come glory, renewal and blessedness. It IS the new birth. It IS the new creation of humanity. It is the force which raises man, the vital energy which quickens and saves, the great uplifting power which unites man with God. "Who is such a fool," asks Theodore, "as to think that so great a boon can be to any man the source of endless pain?" From the Incarnate and Risen Lord, who is the second Adam, Head of humanity, there flows that energy which banishes all mutability and all mor-

tality, all passion, all sin. Even sin, disease, and death itself are, in Theodore's eyes, no more than God's engines for the training of mankind. The Fall was a step in the Divine scheme for the elevation of man; Redemption is no mere after-thought. Even sin itself interposes no permanent obstacles to God's purpose. It may be maintained by timid souls that in the splendour of the goal the dangers of the way were minimised. Sin, it may be said, on such a view, loses something of its awfulness. But a Hellenist might reply that because of its very awfulness sin must be extinguished finally and absolutely. And we should remember the wide prevalence of asceticism among the members of the Syrian school. As this type of life was most widely diffused among them, and as in its very nature it implies a very solemn and even awful view of man's nature and his liabilities in the future, it is difficult to see how such a mode of life could have flourished at all unless the true sinfulness ot sin had been clearly perceived.

5. Another remarkable feature in Theodore's teaching is a certain critical attitude

towards the Bible. His opposition to the allegorising propensities of the Alexandrian School has already been mentioned. But he went further. He refused to accept as inspired the titles prefixed to the various Psalms, and criticises in a strikingly modern spirit such books as the Song of Solomon and the story of Job.[1]

6. We now proceed to the teaching of Theodore on the Incarnation. It stands in very close connection with his theory of Redemption, which is really the ruling idea here, as also in Hellenistic thought. For the salvation of man the Deity was pleased to unite Himself to a perfect human being, who must share every thought, experience and passion incident to humanity, sin excepted. In other words, the Divine Being

[1] Theodore also (perhaps justly) restricted Messianic references in the Psalms, preferring the obvious historical meaning. Still he did not deny the miraculous element in the Bible, *e.g.*, he accepts as literally true the story of Jonah and the whale. His liberal views were thus limited, and we must not credit or discredit him with the so-called modernism of to-day. It is interesting to find him pointing out that the last chapter of St. John's Gospel is really an appendix by another hand.

must come into actual and vital contact with our humanity, at every point and at every stage of its growth. And so a Man is chosen and fashioned by the Divine Spirit in the Virgin's womb. For this Man, as in His temple, the Spirit dwells in a mode ineffable, far higher than His indwelling in the greatest saint. "To compare the two," says Theodore, "is mere madness." Christ had the Spirit completely; the rest of mankind only in a measure. The Divine Child, ever growing, yet sharing human weakness and human ignorance, is increasingly filled with the Divine influence. Thus it is that Jesus is said to increase in wisdom and in knowledge, a statement which was embarrassing to the Alexandrian divines. Still more were they embarrassed by the suggestion that the man Christ Jesus was ignorant of the day and hour of the coming Judgment. To the Antiochenes this idea appeared quite natural. Nor were they perplexed at Jesus showing signs of fear and anguish as His passion approached. They did not shrink from affirming that He even "learned obedience," as the author of the Epistle to

the Hebrews says, "by the things He suffered." But once risen, Jesus fears no more—the union with God is now complete; the Incarnation is perfected; the climax is reached. Yet Theodore uniformly asserts a single Person in Christ, in whom two natures are inseparably united. Over and over again he teaches this unity of Person with duality of nature in our Lord. An illustration of his may be given; as a man and wife are not two but one flesh, so, in the Incarnation the Man and the God are not two but one Person or Hypostasis. This is, in fact, the very watchword of his teaching on this head. As we shall presently see, it is quite certain that he does not intend to teach any division of Christ into two separate entities. The very last thing he intended to do was to deviate from the Catholic Faith. This is clear from sentence after sentence in his writings.

7. Before leaving this subject of our Lord's Person, it may be well to point out the attitude of Antioch towards the famous phrase, "Mother of God." If it be asked whether the Virgin may be styled "Deipara"

—in Greek, "Theotokos"—that is, literally, God's Mother, the reply given by Theodore would be in exact accordance with that of nearly all reasonable and orthodox men of to-day. He would reply "Yes" or "No." In other words, literally God cannot be born, and therefore literally a negative answer must be given, but figuratively and ideally we are justified in calling the Blessed Virgin "Theotokos," on account of the intimate relations held by the human to the Divine in the Incarnate Son.[1] And if in attempting to state so great a mystery human words are sometimes found ambiguous and misleading, that is not enough to substantiate the charge of heresy (a remark which, indeed, is true of both schools in many ways). As a pioneer of theological progress, he doubtless, like his predecessor, Origen, may have fallen into error, and may, like thousands of other men, have expressed too great contempt for his opponents. But he never deliberately opposed himself to Church authority, and,

[1] He would even go further and admit the propriety of a phrase current in the opposing school, *i.e.*, that "God was crucified."

as has already been pointed out, he remained till his death in the communion of the Church. His standpoint compelled him to deny any actual transubstantiation of the Divine into the human, such as Cyril of Alexandria distinctly affirmed. The union for which he contended between the Godhead and Manhood, while most intimate, was distinctly *spiritual* and *ethical.* In his view the Incarnation took place, not by any physical blending, but by a spiritual force. A man is assumed (a favourite expression of his) by the Divine Son, and made one by Him with Himself in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, through the action of the Spirit.

We will conclude this section with a brief summary of the conflicting views of Antioch and Alexandria on this crucial point of theology. What, then, did the Antiochenes teach? The Antiochene School unquestionably maintained, *verbally, at least*, the Catholic doctrine of the two Natures in the one Person, while they asserted that the unity of God and Man was wholly spiritual and not in any sense physical. This unifi-

cation (ἕνωσις) of man and God begins in the womb before the birth of Jesus, and is one that develops and increases as the man Jesus develops. The Incarnation is thus *progressive* as well as ethical—a fact to be noted. In this unification[1] both Natures remain distinct, yet they are so closely drawn together as to form but One Person. In Theodore's words: "So that what the Lord says about the man and the woman, 'and so that they are no longer two, but one flesh,' we, too, may reasonably say about the matter of the unification, so that there are no longer two Persons (πρόσωπα) but one, the Natures having clearly been discriminated. . . . The unification of the Person (πρόσωπον) is not destroyed by the difference of the Natures. . . . For when we distinguish the Natures we say that the Nature of God the Word is perfect, and His Person (πρόσωπον) perfect; since we do not say that *hypostasis* is non-personal. But also the Nature of the Man is perfect, and likewise his Person. When, moreover, we regard

[1] I use this term "unification" because the word "unity" scarcely conveys the sense of the original.

the conjunction (συνάφεια), then we affirm the Person. For when the Natures have been distinguished, the Person is perfected in the unification."[1] But he is careful to add that when we consider the unity then we teach that both Natures form but One Person—in a word, if you consider the *Natures*, *both* are distinct and *both* are personal, but if you look at the unity then there is but One Person.[2]

Doubtless there is a difficulty here. But it is because mere human words are apt to

[1] These passages are from Theodore's book on the Incarnation, characteristically described in some editions as the work of "the heretic Theodore *against* the Incarnation." See Migne, *in loc.*, pp. 974, 981.

[2] At this point it is necessary to recall a wise caution attributed to the late Bishop Westcott. He says that our difficulties begin in attempting to draw a series of inferences from the words of Scripture, and not resting content with the text itself. Thus, to take an instructive instance, we know how frequent is the use of the term Redemption applied to our Lord's work. If we accept the *term*, all is easy, but when our inferences begin, then comes a knot which no man can unloose, and which in very early days caused perplexity and indeed led to even absurd statements. For instance, if Christ redeems us—that is, "buys us back"—from whom does He buy? Who receives the price? Is it God or is it, as very many thought, the devil. Thus

break down under the strain such topics impose. The meaning, however, is not altogether beyond comprehension. There are two Natures each in themselves personal, the Divine and the human, but the moment you look away from these to the Unity there is but a single Person. There is, as it were, a sub-personality—that of the Man—when you look only at the human element in the Incarnation, but looking at the great ineffable union of Man and God, then there is but one Incarnate Person. "Our enemies profess that if we speak of two perfect things (or beings), we necessarily must teach two Sons in Jesus Christ. But we justly confess one Son, since the distinction of Natures must necessarily persist, and the Oneness of Person be indissolubly preserved. . . . Again, in reply to what they say, it is enough to show that we teach that the Son is justly

endless difficulties arose. If, in the same way, we are content to believe in the perfect Manhood and Godhead in our Lord, abandoning inferences and deductions, we should go very far to reconcile the rival schools who might have met in harmony on the one great truth which both accepted, though neither could explain every detail.

confessed to be One, yet the difference of the Natures ought to remain and the unification of His Person be inseparably preserved."[1] The man Jesus was gifted with the indwelling Spirit, not as other men, for He received in Himself the whole grace of the Spirit, but all other men received only a share in the presence of the Spirit. These quotations may perhaps suffice to illustrate Theodore's teaching. The crux of the whole matter lies plainly here, and I know not whether any Œdipus can completely unravel the knot if, in spite of warnings, men will persist in drawing inferences. If you retain a human Person, then, said the Alexandrian you practically abandon the Incarnation, for you no longer have one Incarnate Christ, no longer one centre, but two. But, replies Antioch, if there is not a human personality there can be no true Manhood in the Incarnation, and no real union of Man and God —and we are thus forced back into the region of unrealities, where we are compelled to content ourselves with a being really unthinkable and therefore wholly ineffectual

[1] Migne, p. 985.

to redeem us because no true man. All these objections seemed trifles light as air to the mystics of Alexandria, who had no difficulty whatever in accepting a mysterious *permeation* of the human by the Divine, or more accurately, either a sort of "*transubstantiation*" of the God into the Man; or a "deification" of the human—a phrase not very uncommon.

I feel deeply how attractive is the Alexandrian view of the Incarnation. To many it appears to have deeper roots, and to appeal more strongly than the rival system to our religious consciousness. Men's deepest feelings respond when they are told that the Man is actually part and parcel of the Deity in a true sense—"that the Divinity has become the actual possession of human nature,"[1] and yet when we look more closely the difficulties involved in this view become clear. We have already seen that the Incarnate Man, if regarded as merging His human personality in the Godhead, would seem thereby to lose his Manhood. It melts away into a golden haze.

[1] Dorner, "Person of Christ," p. 62.

But, furthermore, if the Logos literally *becomes* Man, and if His divinity thus embraces his human nature, where is there any possibility in Christ of imperfection, of learning anything through suffering, weakness, or temptation, all which are clearly taught by the New Testament? And how could such a Divine Person need the descent of the Spirit at His baptism, or the help of an angel to strengthen Him? All these points the Antiochenes strongly pressed. And if the human nature [1] has no personal centre of its own, it has no independent subsistence, and exists merely in a form of a number of accidents held together by the Divine Logos. Thus it would seem that Cyril, while really striving to found his system more deeply, has to a large extent been playing with words, and that, as Dorner says, the Christ he taught was simply God with the appearance of man, but not a real man, and consequently Cyril did not acknowledge a real Incarnation of God.[2] We are here, in fact, face to face with the immemorial

[1] *Ib.*, p. 67.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 73.

conflict of the mystic and the realist, of the Platonist and the Aristotelian. In the Alexandrian view, God does actually and literally become Man. There is a real if ineffable transmutation, and the resultant being is God. From this feeling there grew quite naturally that vast group of heresies which, under various names—Apollinarian, Monophysite, Monothelite—for long ages troubled and all but overwhelmed the Church. Roughly speaking, they were in fact so many ways of denying the *Man* Jesus in the Incarnate Son. Against this the Church at the Council of Chalcedon steadily proclaimed the doctrine of *two Natures in One Person and one hypostasis*. The Realist, or Critical, School of Antioch also opposed this mystical view, and said to the Alexandrians—That which you offer is no real Man, it is an impersonal Something which is quite unintelligible. At this point one is tempted to ask whether an accommodation were not possible between the rival schools, for if, as the Council of Chalcedon declared, there was in the Incarnation a human entity—

"Nature" they called it—possessing a human soul, a human reason, and a human consciousness and will, which speaks, thinks, and acts of and from itself, all of which Pope Leo's letter admits, then it may be argued that this human entity is to all intents and purposes a human person. If this be granted, and here certainly the rival theories almost coincide, then this painful controversy might have been prevented. But, in fact, there was no real desire for an equitable consideration by the rival leaders. It was so much easier to take up the nearest stone and fling it at a rival's head than to take him by the arm and honestly seek to arrive at a satisfactory understanding as friend with a friend. I have tried to be fair. I admit the reasons that may be urged against the merely *spiritual* tie uniting man and God in the Incarnation, as Antioch held —they have been stated already. But fairness demands the admission that Cyril's view is *even more vulnerable*. Perhaps we may sum up thus: The rival theories, if pressed to the bitter end with sharp logic,

have both their weak points. Both have merits, yet neither can stand a rigid critical analysis. Yet here, above all, on ground so sacred, there is room and space for a harmony which shall preserve all that is best in the rival schemes. Reasonably interpreted (as I have tried to show) the human "nature," "soul," "will," "reason," which the orthodox view concedes, I think, to the Man Jesus, involves in one sense a true personality, and where this is conceded *virtually* it matters little if a verbal denial of personality is made. At this point we may perhaps pause to remark two things: First, that, notwithstanding the gravity of these questions, there is a certain air of unreality in all this controversy, and this arises inevitably from want of clear perception as to the precise meaning of the terms employed. We do not know *exactly* what such terms as "nature," "person," "substance," "hypostasis," etc., etc., really denote. I am not certain even that all of us can define with precision what Incarnation—the master term of all—may denote. What I mean is that we are most of us

incompetent to explain what condition or conditions need to be fulfilled in order to make a valid Incarnation. There is thus an element of uncertainty imparted to the discussion. How, for instance, could we reason about geometry if we did not know exactly what was meant by an angle, a square, or a parallelogram. The second remark is that we cannot understand the motive underlying these controversies, if we do not try to assume the Hellenistic standpoint. It has been said with some exaggeration, but with a good deal of truth nevertheless, that the early Hellenists had but one doctrine, namely, that of the Incarnate.

Thus the interminable discussions which to us seem so often unintelligible, or even irreverent, were to the disputants of those days absolutely vital. With the Hellenist the Incarnation was everything, the Atonement (in the sense in which modern theology has come to use the word) nothing. Christ saves us—so they thought—not by His Death, but by His Birth. His mere appearance in the world is sufficient to drive

all foul things away and compel them to hide themselves from His presence. As Athanasius puts it, just as if a city is in revolt against its sovereign, so his presence is in itself sufficient to restore order, so Christ by simply coming into this world, is of Himself sufficient to restore peace and concord. He is the Light which dispels darkness by its presence; the leaven which penetrates and purifies the whole inert mass of humanity by His living power. Thus the Incarnation was the very core and heart of the Hellenist system.[1]

[1] I give Theodore's words as to the wicked and their lot in the future life. "The wicked," he says, "who during the whole of their life have turned away to sin, when through punishment and fear they shall have repented and chosen and learned what is good and thus obtained the knowledge of the fear of God, shall be made worthy of the joy of the Divine pardon, for never would Christ have said, 'Until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing' (St. Mark v. 26), unless it were possible that, when we had atoned for sins by penalty, we should be cleansed from them—nor would He have said, 'I shall be beaten with many and beaten with few stripes' (St. Luke xii. 47, 48), unless after they had borne punishment in proportion to their sins they should finally receive pardon." [The author gives no reference here.—Ed.]

With these remarks we leave the general question, and proceed to inquire what light the career of Nestorius and the writings of Theodoret and Chrysostom throw upon the situation.

II

Nestorius—Theodoret—Chrysostom

A STRIKING and even pathetic figure now claims our attention. Of Nestorius we first hear as Abbot of the Monastery Euprepius, a little outside the city of Antioch. In the year 428, while Theodore was approaching the end of his labours, Nestorius, already famous for his eloquence and fervour of preaching, united with earnestness and austerity of life, was raised to the great See of Constantinople. Enough has perhaps been said of the bitter jealousies and rivalries of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. But we ought not to forget that *all* of them, Antioch not excepted, were jealous of the sudden rise of Constantinople to the second place in rank, and that Rome in particular was afraid of losing the primacy which once belonged to her as the Imperial city. Not many years previous to the appointment of Nestorius to Constantinople Chrysostom

had been hurled from that "place of pride" through the wiles of the ambitious and treacherous Theophilus of Alexandria, had been driven into exile, and had perished in distress and disgrace among the barbarians of Pontus. Now the nephew of Theophilus, Cyril, was to open a campaign against another Bishop of Constantinople and to drive him also into exile and condemn him to a lonely death in the wilds of Upper Egypt.

I have already mentioned Mr. Bethune-Baker's "Bazaar of Heraclides." I desire to refer to it once more in this connection. Its reasonable tone, combined with orthodoxy of teaching, its genuine desire to be fair to all parties concerned in this painful controversy, are conditions at once unhappily most rare in religious controversy, and therefore most welcome. Mr. Bethune-Baker's point may be stated thus: That the teaching attributed to Nestorius was not really his, that he in fact accepted the definitions of Pope Leo and of the Council of Chalcedon, and that he believed the doctrine of two Natures in our Lord united in One

Person. Into the circumstances connected with the Council of Ephesus, 431, where Nestorius was condemned, I do not propose to enter here. Of Cyril's violence, intrigue, and practical denial to Nestorius of any reasonable opportunity of defending himself from the unjust accusations hurled at him by his opponents, I shall say nothing, save that it is matter for very deep regret that the Church should have been so blind to these scandals, so reluctant to admit that they existed, so resolute to condone, in the interests of orthodoxy, intrigue, violence and wholesale bribery. That Cyril was not ashamed to descend to the latter appears clearly from the epistle Epiphanius, Cyril's Archdeacon, wrote to Maximian of Constantinople. The presents there referred to—they were really bribes and nothing else—were sent to the Empress, to her ladies, and to influential courtiers.[1] I refer the reader to Mr. Bethune-Baker's book for the details as to the technical points at issue between Nestorius and Cyril. They

[1] Gies., "Eccl. Hist.," 401. [The letter itself will be found in the collected works of Theodoret.—Ed.]

are hardly suitable for these pages, dealing as they do, not with the history, but with the opinions of the Antiochene School. The practical result seems to me that the miserable controversy might have been altogether avoided had there been any real desire, especially on Cyril's part, to attain peace. The moderate men on both sides were clearly prepared to acquiesce in the statement which now represents the Catholic position, that in our Lord's Person the Manhood and Godhead were united eternally and indivisibly—which is precisely the way in which the Council of Chalcedon, and Leo's letter to Flavian of Constantinople, accepted by that Council, defined the faith.

We come now to one of the most attractive characters in early Church history, the learned, moderate, and fair-minded Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus.[1] Less original and systematic than Theodore, less brilliant than Chrysostom, Theodoret is quite the best representative of the moderate Antiochene. If Theodore is the thinker, and

[1] Or Cyrrhus.

Chrysostom the orator, Theodoret is the historian and commentator of the school. In the repose of his writings is a constant reasonableness of tone, possibly even in a certain want of "unction." Theodoret offers a marked contrast to the fire and passion of the North African School. Like Theodore, who may be called his master, he is on every vital point a Hellenist. This is evident in his mode of treating such questions as God's wrath, retribution, death, the Resurrection, the descent into Hades, the unity of Creation, and the like. The ethical tone which pervades his theology is also Hellenistic, and so is the optimism displayed in many passages of his writings. As will be seen later, he, no less firmly than Chrysostom, takes up an attitude of marked opposition to anything like the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. He will not even hear it said *that God inflicted death on Adam in anger for a little eating*.[1] It may be at once

[1] [Here Theodoret has taken Gen. iii. 3, in the purely literal sense. But the sacred historian does not say that "God inflicted death on Adam in anger for a little eating." What he does say is that Adam

conceded that Theodoret (as do all early Hellenists) applies the term αἰώνιος to the future punishment of the wicked, but he is careful to tell us that this term is sometimes applied to a limited period.[1] He especially contrasts it with ἀΐδιος, applied to Christ in Heb. i. 2.[2] He teaches that there is redemption from æonian death in Zech. ix. 11.[3] I will proceed to quote from Theodoret a few specimens of his teaching. Here is a passage breathing the spirit of Theodore's system. "It is," says Theodoret, "God's purpose to weld into one the totality of things (τὸ σύμπαν),

brought God's wrath on himself for knowing evil as well as good.—Ed.]

[1] In his "Questions on Exodus," dealing with the matter of the slave who is to become the property of his master, he says (i., p. 155) of the word αἰών, there used, ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον, ὡς οὐ πανταχοῦ ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ ἀπείρου δηλωτικὸς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτου καὶ ὡρισμένου χρὸνου σημάντικός. [That this is the case with αἰών is undeniable. It is therefore the more remarkable that the limited sense should be strenuously denied in the case of the adjective directly formed from it. The quotations are taken from Schulze's edition.—Ed.]

[2] III., 547. [But he does not contrast ἀΐδιος with αἰώνιος, but with αἰών (τῶν αἰώνων).—Ed.]

[3] [What Theodoret actually says is that the "pit which has no water" (Zech. ix. 11) means *either* eternal (αἰώνιος) death *or* the error of idols.—Ed.]

and of this purpose man is the pledge, being a bond between the visible and invisible, and God's image, *i.e.*, God's representative.[1] He quotes with approval from Athanasius a passage which says that the whole race of man is so permeated by the Resurrection as to become like a single living creature,[2] a statement which certainly implies universal salvation. Elsewhere Theodoret asserts that the passion of anger does not move God to chastise, but the words are used to frighten men who resist His will by the name of anger.[3] Over and over again this Father asserts that Divine threats, stripes and penalties are inflicted in order to heal.[4] God, he elsewhere says, does not know how to execute His threats.[5] Like the Hellenists,

[1] Quest. xx. in Gen. i., p. 30.

[2] Dial. iii., Impat., iv., p. 242. The words of Athanasius are *τοὺς παντας ἐνέδυσεν ἀφθαρσίᾳ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐπαγγελίᾳ.*

[3] On Rom. i. 18, iii., p. 23.

[4] See Quest. on 2 Kings xxiv., i., p. 453; Quest. xxxvii. on Gen. iii., i., p. 52, in Ezek. xvi. 2, ii., p. 773, in Ps. ii. 9, in Jonah i.

[5] In Joel ii. 13, ii., p. 1393. [What he actually says is, "There are many springs of pity and mercy with God, and when He makes use of His long-

Theodoret sees a redemptive purpose everywhere; the very destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea is but an overthrow through Holy Baptism, *i.e.*, God destroys in order to save them.[1] In his commentary on Hab. ii. 14,[2] he bids us not think this hard to understand, for that all the generations of mankind shall be illumined by the splendours of the knowledge of God, so that the bitter waters of unbelief shall be covered by the sweet waters of the knowledge (of God). . . . When speaking of the atoning work of Christ, Theodoret repeatedly says that, by paying the debt due from sinners, He saved *all* men from the penalties due from them for their sins.[3] . . . On the Resurrection Theodoret practically repeats what he has learnt from Theodore. Commenting on Ps. viii. 9,[4] also Ps. xxi.,[5] he teaches that not merely "all sheep and oxen, but the whole creation,

suffering He knows how to avoid giving effect to His threats."—Ed.]

[1] On Ps. lxxxix. 10, i., p. 1233.

[2] II., p. 1547.

[3] Orat. "De Providentia," iv., p. 666 *sqq.*

[4] I., p. 654.

[5] I., p. 745.

visible and invisible," shall share in the unspeakable union which He has come to make, and that some will share in His Resurrection willingly, others unwillingly, some from love, and some from fear.[1] Before leaving Theodoret we must compare his views with those known as Augustinian. His opposition to Augustinianism, while at first sight it may not seem so complete as in the case of Theodore, is yet vital. True, there are some passages in which Theodoret traces human sin to Adam's transgression, but he means something differing radically from what Augustine asserts. Adam became mortal by sin, and being mortal he begets mortal children; and since from a state of mortality flow, as a rule, perturbations, passions, desires, sin itself derives its origin from these. It is clear that his view of sin is not that it is derived from our parents, but that it is produced by the confusion and disorder which the first sin has brought into the world, just as the

[1] See also i., p. 1293 (on Ps. xcv. 11), where he describes the angels as rejoicing in the change (μεταβολή) of all men.

perturbations in the path of the planet Uranus were scientifically proved to have been the result of external forces.[1] But Theodoret's true standpoint and his complete disagreement with the North African theology are best seen by taking certain points *seriatim*:

(i) Death is to Theodoret a remedy devised by God for man's help.[2]

(ii) Each man dies, not on account of his progenitor's sin, but his own (which is frankly Pelagian).[3]

(iii) Indeed, if sin were a natural energy, we should be free from punishment.[4]

(iv) We first choose good, then receive God's help.[5]

(v) Concupiscence (rather *desire*, ἐπιθυμία) is a necessity for man become mortal.[6] So far from being sinful it, in moderation,

[1] See on Ps. li. 7.

[2] In Gen. Quest. 37, 40. In Rom. v. 16, Theodoret distinctly says that death is not imposed as a penalty (τιμωρία), but as a means of life.

[3] On Rom. v. 13.

[4] On Ps. li. 7.

[5] On Haggai ii. 1; cf. on Rom. vi. 13.

[6] Δεῖται γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας.

procures what is good, it works out a longing after God.[1]

(vi) The grace of the Spirit is insufficient where there is no readiness of mind.[2]

(vii) God calls those who have a purpose to come.[3]

On this point Theodoret speaks at length, God's election depends on human purpose; so with Esau and Jacob—God knows what they will do.[4] If God's acts were arbitrary God would take vengeance unjustly on sinners.[5] The comments here are root and branch opposed to Augustine; he will not for a moment admit as just in God what in man would be unjust—God predestinates those who are worthy of salvation.[6]

(viii) "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners"—the Apostle rightly uses "many," for some in all nations became

[1] On Rom. vii. 17.

[2] On Phil. i. 30; cf. ii. 13.

[3] On Rom. viii. 28, 30.

[4] On Rom. ix. 13, 18.

[5] *Ib.* ix. 19.

[6] *Ib.* ix. 24. [It may be necessary to remind the reader that the question here is not whether Theodoret is right, nor whether he is orthodox, but whether he agrees with Augustine.—Ed.]

workers of virtue and remained at the limits of nature.[1] Referring to "Gentiles doing by nature the works of the law," Abimelech, slave and Ethiopian, gained salvation by his piety.[2]

(ix) "Baptism does not, as the Messalians supposed, simply clear away, as with a razor, the sins which had gone before, for this is freely granted beforehand. For, if this were the only object of baptism, why do we baptise infants who have not yet committed sin? Baptism is the earnest of future blessings, the type of the coming Resurrection, the communion in the sufferings of the Lord, the participation of His Resurrection."[3] If we remember that Theodoret and Augustine were contemporaries, this difference is striking. It is, I submit, a difference of view, alike in principle and in detail, which may be fairly called fundamental. Nor should I hesitate to say that Pelagius might as safely appeal to Theodoret as to the Hellenists. But Augustine would,

[1] "Hær. fab. comp.," Book v., 11 (vol. iv., 425).
[2] On Rom. ix. 14.
[3] "Hær. fab. comp.," v., 18 (vol. iv., 441).

sometimes at least, find his special doctrine disallowed and rejected, not indeed without a touch of something like contempt.

Chrysostom

It is one of the surprises of theology that the sober realistic School of Antioch should have produced the most brilliant and fervid orator of Christian antiquity—a fact which is indeed a key to our judgment of Chrysostom. An Oriental preacher whose lot is cast in cities like Antioch and Constantinople (what their vices were may be seen in Hom. ix. on Romans), will breathe flame and terror, will hurl at sin and at sinners the fiercest epithets a fervid imagination can suggest. He is more sure to do this if he be an ascetic; still more if, like Chrysostom, he be firmly persuaded that to deceive men for their good is a duty. So it naturally fell out that Chrysostom, wholly unsystematic in mind, and caring little for dogma in comparison with his care for personal religion, largely based his teaching on terrorism. "Do not," he says, "think of the Kingdom as often as of Gehenna, for fear is a more powerful

motive than the promise."[1] In this there is, I concede, struck a note out of harmony with Hellenism, and also in the following passage (where a certain Oriental contempt for man is disclosed), "What midges are to man, the same is the entire creation to God."[2] Man is only God's child by an abuse of language. Here there is shown again the tendency of the Arian controversy to obscure man's claim to be naturally[3] God's child (see context). Indeed there is a shocking and odious passage in which Chrysostom sinks quite to the level of Tertullian.[4] But, on the other side, we will

[1] (See the context)—On 1 Thess. ii. 11. [Practically we must confess this to be the fact in ages and countries where sin is rampant. The hardened conscience responds only to fear. This is obvious from a glance, not only at the cities of the East in Chrysostom's time, but at the Middle Ages generally, and our own country, down to the time of Wesley and Whitefield. It may be well to add—see Editor's Introduction—that the quotations of Chrysostom have not been verified.—Ed.]

[2] On Eph. See "De incomp. Dei Nat. Hom.," ii. 1, 306.

[3] For if man be a Son of God naturally then Christ may be but man the Son of God.

[4] Writing from his exile to his bosom friend Olympias he bids her to *keep constantly before her mind*

note some passages which show how the Hellenism in this Father is not present merely, but vigorous and active. It may be described as the "predominant partner" in his complex theology. To take the points in order:

(*a*) Chrysostom was certainly "suspect" of a leaning to Origen in the controversies raised by Epiphanius and Jerome.

(*b*) He sanctions prayers and alms-givings on behalf of those who have died impenitent.[1]

(*c*) He praises outspoken teachers of universalism like Theodore and Diodorus.[2]

(*d*) His own language points distinctly at times in the same direction.

(*e*) His teaching as to God's vengeance—penalties, death—is distinctly Hellenistic.

(*f*) To the same effect is his view on the

to ease her trouble (*!*) the thought that she shall one day see the enemies of the Church and its persecutors being broiled (literally, grilled) and burned, fettered, gnashing their teeth, bewailing, vainly lamenting and uselessly repenting. For an honest portrait of Chrysostom it was necessary to state the foregoing, which one seldom finds produced in our text-books.

[1] On St. John, Hom. 61; on 1 Cor., Hom. 42.

[2] "Fac. pro tr." cap. iv. 2, v. 117.

so-called unpardonable sin, which he roundly asserts to be capable of forgiveness, and actually to have been forgiven to many.[1]

(*g*) He asserts the absolute liberation of every soul whatsoever from Hades when Christ descended thither after His Passion.[2]

The statement that we have sinned in Adam seems to Chrysostom positively absurd—we are not to think that Adam injured us—thus he takes up a frankly Pelagian standpoint.[3]

He teaches that infants are free from sin.[4] He is the author of a homily which bears the significant title, "That we are not punished on account of Adam, and that more benefit than hurt has been introduced by him if we will pay proper attention to the sense of Scripture." I do not make Chrysostom responsible for this title, but it expresses an important side of his teaching with accuracy. In a homily on St. Matthew there are some very characteristic utterances. He has spoken of Adam, and goes on in a

[1] On St. Mark xii., Hom. 42.

[2] "*Universalism Asserted* (by the author)," p. 141.

[3] On Gen., Hom. viii.; cf. on Rom., Hom. x.

[4] "Ad Neoph. ad pop. Ant.," iii.; on St. Matt. ix.

strain which reads as if it were *directed against the Carthaginian theology.*

(1) All whose fault is not from their own choice are worthy of *pity*—not *penalty.*

(2) If we saw a man *wicked from birth*, we should so far from blaming *even pity him.*

(3) The fact that we do blame in any case shows that evil comes not naturally, but by choice only.

(4) "Do not use miserable sophistry. Your evils arise from yourself." All this is again frankly Pelagian in tone and spirit.

The standpoint of Chrysostom as to grace beyond doubt leans to Pelagianism. We have a power of ourselves to help ourselves. We can begin. We can, indeed we must, first render ourselves worthy of mercy.[1] When it is said that God does *all*, it is meant that He does *most*, that He completes our work.[2] It is merely *out of modesty* (!) that St. Paul asserts everything to be God's gift. Christ never punished any one for lack of what was His own gift—virtues are not His

[1] On 1 Cor., Hom. 27.

[2] On Heb., Hom. 12.

gift[1]— Grace is no good unless we are ready. God does not work all in order to keep us from labour.[2] Even if we go down to the depths of sin, we are able to recall ourselves and to lay aside all sin.[3]

I have spoken of Chrysostom as openly leaning to Pelagianism. More might perhaps have been said with truth, and we may note that even these very imperfect quotations show that his motive in so writing was that which largely influenced the ascetic Pelagius—a practical one, a fear of the evil that would result if men put off on Adam the sin which was their own ; or said, " I can do nothing good till grace comes to help me." Exactly the standpoint of Pelagius. Note, too, the evident implication that if we were born sinful we should deserve not blame but pity.

If anything could surprise a student of theological controversy it certainly would be the appeal which Augustine more than once

1 " De Virg."

2 On St. Matt., Hom. 82.

3 " Hom. de David et Saul; " cf. on Hab. Hom. 12 ; on St. John, Hom. 17 ; on 1 Cor., Hom. 2 ; on Ps. l., Hom. 2 ; on Is. i., Hom. 1.

makes to Chrysostom, as in harmony with his special doctrines. This surprise would be much increased did we remember that Pelagius has been branded as an arch heretic, while Chrysostom, who goes quite as far, has everywhere been received as a saint. A small volume might, indeed, be filled with passages which, in varied forms, show Chrysostom as taking up a position not inconsistent merely with Augustinianism, *but in direct antagonism to it.*[1] It seems hardly credible that a writer can have been claimed as a supporter of Augustine who can write that even Adam *had not properly sin*, but only a blot of disobedience.[2] He goes on to warn his hearers against imagining that they had been injured by the first pair, Adam and Eve. It is clear that Chrysostom believed that if our sin were traced to Adam[3] our

[1] Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," i., 386.

[2] On Gen., Hom. viii.

[3] I do not mean that the Antiochenes denied all tie between Adam and his posterity. Sin made us mortal *and thus opened the door* for our subsequent and personal guilt. [Or, as Theodoret says (above, pp. 81, 82), it places us at the mercy of centrifugal forces.—Ed.]

guilt would practically disappear. There are no doubt passages to be found which have a *quasi*-Augustinian colour, but they are by no means frequent. They are simple outbursts of rhetoric. His real belief is clearly that only our own acts can do us spiritual hurt.

I therefore venture to think that the true significance of this Father has very frequently been missed. As in certain tissues it is possible to watch under the microscope some of the vital processes, to note change, reproduction, decay — so in the pages of Chrysostom, if we closely scan them, we can detect the germs of a great change—the dawn, in fact, of a revolution. The truth is that, while his oratory is praised by many who have never studied it, to scientific theology he has contributed nothing. But nowhere else can we so clearly see the commencement of that virtual revolution by which Hellenism passed away in the Eastern Church, and what I may call "Byzantinism" took its place. Those who read Chrysostom with care will be able to trace the signs of this

revolution in the thought of the Eastern Church. They will find the chief agents in that revolution to have been the twin sisters Asceticism and Terrorism, working from within, fostered and developed by ever-increasing vice and corruption among the members of the Church. Chrysostom is the first Hellenist to *build* theories of the soul's future *on Gehenna*, and from his terrorism it is but a step to pessimism. The change of basis was also helped by the tendencies of Oriental art, which led to an undue depreciation of man—to regarding him as altogether vile and corrupt by nature.

* * *

A caution must follow here. It is not meant that Chrysostom is no Hellenist. What is meant is that the period in which he lived was one of transition.[1] Here is the true interest of the man; he is at once

[1] [The same feature displays itself in the writings of Augustine. Sometimes he regards the Life of Christ as imparted to the believing Christian soul; sometimes "grace" is substituted for that Life, and justification and imputation are treated as matters external.—Ed.]

optimist and pessimist, or rather he is paving the way for pessimism.

In regard to arbitrary election and predestination his standpoint is flatly anti-Augustinian. The vessels of wrath or of mercy are so from their own will.[1] When the Apostle asks, "Has not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"[2] even here the solution depends *not* on the potter, but *on the will*.[3] To Augustine this would have seemed nothing less than heresy or blasphemy. God permits everything to depend on the will of the sufferer, *i.e.*, the sinner.[4] In saying "Jacob have I loved," God speaks because He knows that Jacob will be the faithful one and not his brother.[5]

The following propositions seem deducible from the works of Chrysostom:

(i) He denies the imputation of Adam's sin, and wholly denies the doctrine of original sin.

[1] On Rom., Hom. xvi.
[2] Jer. xviii. 1—6; Rom. ix. 21.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] On Gen., Hom. xviii.
[5] On Rom., Hom. xvi.

(ii) He asserts that *all sin* comes from free choice.

(iii) He declares that infants have no sin, and are not baptised to remove any sin.

(iv) He denies "preventing grace." God does not anticipate our wills in order that He may not hurt our free will, but after we have chosen helps us much.[1]

(v) He asserts repeatedly that we must and can help ourselves.

(vi) The differences in the standard of holiness reached by different men are due, not to grace, but to free choice. Some desire "grace" and use it when given, others do not.[2]

(vii) He teaches that the very worst men have some good, and often do some good thing.[3]

(viii) He distinctly rejects all arbitrary predestination, and asserts death to be a benefit not a penalty.[4]

[1] On Heb., Hom. xi.

[2] "De Comf. ad Dem.," i.

[3] De Laz., iii., "In terræ mot.," vi.

[4] [The author gives no references here.—Ed.]

(ix) It may be an inconvenient conclusion, but truth is paramount; and an impartial examination of his writings proves the system of Chrysostom to be *in every material point Pelagian.* Even where he traces mortality to Adam, he yet denies that Adam hurt his posterity, indeed, he insists that Adam's expulsion from Paradise was a benefit. His attitude, otherwise puzzling, is explained when we remember that he was a teacher pulled in opposite directions by two contending impulses. The unspeakable vices of Constantinopolitan Christianity intensified his feeling of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. He is thus drawn into the current of Mediævalism. On the other hand, we find indications, clear, abundant, and varied—they have already been pointed out—in which the Hellenist stands distinctly revealed. It is in the latter, I should venture to hope, and not in the heated oratory of the preacher, that the true mind of Chrysostom is to be found—*judicet lector.*

In conclusion, I will beg my readers to remember that these Eastern divines were

not writing from a post-Augustinian standpoint, nor did they share the ideas now current about grace, depravity, sin, and its penalty. If we are to understand Hellenistic and Syrian theology we must abjure the "restorer," and forswear the "harmoniser" and all his works! We must not allow ourselves to forget that the Eastern Church, whether Hellenistic or Syriac, formulated its doctrines and maintained its standpoints quite independently of Pelagius or Augustine. It has been truly said that over the Eastern Church the whole Pelagian controversy passed, leaving little or no trace, stirring no passion, provoking no interest. Even if few of the Eastern divines can be described as on every point Pelagian, truth and candour compel us to state, nevertheless, that in not a few points they approximate closely to the Pelagian system. We may go so far as to say that it is extremely doubtful if they would have regarded any of its doctrines as involving serious error. Still less would they have pronounced them heretical. Birth sin they did not accept. Their fundamental postulate was not man's depravity, but

man's nobility. The Augustinian notion of our natural inability to help ourselves and to move towards good was contrary to one of their most profound convictions, namely, the power of free will in every reasonable being. Practically to them this was a Divine endowment; was, in fact, that which Westerns called *grace*. Nay, it even rendered grace superfluous, except for initiating heroic virtues, or for the crowning of our efforts. I will add only one further remark, that I cannot conceive it possible that any student of Hellenistic theology can take seriously the common argument that the Easterns wrote incautiously because they wrote before the rise of Pelagius. No fact is clearer than this—that they wrote in conformity to definite Hellenistic traditions, and from a definite Hellenistic standpoint, and as the expression of a definite theology. The connection of these traditions and of this standpoint with deep-seated instincts—with, in short, that mysterious fact which we call " race "—has been sufficiently illustrated elsewhere.[1]

[1] [The abandonment in the West of some at least of these " Hellenistic traditions " is due to the absence

of a knowledge of Greek in the West for many centuries. And the two irreconcileable currents of thought which (see my note above) are recognisable in Augustine himself, may be partly ascribed to the absence in the West of the complete knowledge of Greek which was possessed by the Greek and Syrian divines. Not only the Greek and Syrian divines, but the Greek Testament itself, lays far greater stress on the indwelling of the Perfected Humanity of Christ in us through the Eternal Spirit by means of faith than Western theology has done till lately. And Western explanations of Atonement, Justification, Grace (in the sense of Divine assistance) have been substituted for Apostolic teaching, until the recent impetus given to the study of the Greek Testament. Augustinian explanations continue to be dominant in our theology. But they will probably in the end give way to more exact and primitive statements of doctrine.—Ed.]

PART II

Augustine

If I regard Latinism as summed up in the writings of Augustine, and of him alone, I shall make no apology for so doing. "L'église, c'est moi" are the only words that aptly describe his influence on Latin Christianity, exaggerated as they may be or seem. I venture to select them as conveying a truth of primary importance, if we wish to understand the theology of the Western Church. His admirers claim for him a position of peculiar authority. The claim may not merely be allowed, but we must go a good deal further. We are forced to the conclusion that his influence has been vaster, his authority more permanent, than his warmest friends suppose.

At the opening of the fifth century we still find the centre of Latin Christianity to be, not in Italy, but in North Africa. We find ourselves face to face with a man—he

may be described as a theological Atlas—on whose shoulders rests virtually the burden of the Western Church. We see him overruling its Bishops, swaying its Councils, bending all wills to his own. This may be, and probably will be, regarded as an exaggerated statement. Yet there is a letter still extant from Valentinus, Abbot of a monastery at Adrumetum, to Augustine, in which the writer confesses that he and his monks have received Augustine's book (on grace and free will), *with trembling heart and veiled eyes, as Elijah covered his face when the glory of the Lord passed by*, adding that *as the Apostles, when supping with the Lord, dared not to ask who He was, so they did not dare to ask a question as to the authorship of the book.* Such words prove more fully than a thousand arguments how completely Augustine had dominated his age, how prepared, as a rule, were his contemporaries to receive without even the semblance of enquiry whatever it pleased him to say. This rise of a great genius from the free, and even vicious, life of an ordinary man of the world in the decline of the Roman Empire to

be the spiritual guide of the whole world; from the heresy of the Manichæans to the Supreme Doctorate of the Latin Church, is a veritable romance of theology.

* * *

Of the extraordinary powers of this great genius I shall speak later on. But I must first point out how ripe for such a supremacy was the Latin Church at this moment—how favourable were the circumstances for such a Dictatorship. For in Italy and Gaul Hellenism, which had hitherto dominated all the greatest teachers of the West, was now fast dying out. We can only properly understand the true significance of such careers as those of Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers, and even Jerome, when we remember that they were the last of the Western Hellenists—that with them dies out a distinct doctrinal type in the West. Nor is this all. The Latin Church, up to this moment far less influential than her Eastern sister, was now fast rising to power. It had, so to say, come of age, and needed a leader and a theology of its own.

It is from the early years of the fifth

century that we may date the opening of the great change which displaced the Eastern Church from her ecclesiastical pre-eminence and gave to the Church of the West at once a supremacy which she never lost, and with it a theology all her own. Thus was Augustine especially fortunate in the moment of his appearance on the scene. He stood virtually alone amongst his contemporaries. There was hardly a name of any eminence in the whole list of Western Bishops of his day. The Popes were nobodies; Western Hellenism was dying or dead; the Western Church was, all unconsciously, looking for something to take its place. Thus Augustine became a sovereign, with no possible competitor. So it came to pass that the seed sown by this great master fell on a soil at once unoccupied and congenial. Its basis was Latin and suited the Latin mind. The stress it laid on authority and on the Church won the hearts of the clergy. A system of Absolutism, it commended itself to a race like the Latin, whose ideals of civil government were imperial and autocratic. Its legal tone, its

very harshness, were attractions rather than hindrances to its reception in the West—in a Church of a hard type, of forensic instincts —a Church which was already clamouring for the violent suppression of all heresy. It was strong meat, no doubt, but thereby the better fitted for a community just becoming conscious of its strength and disposed to assert it. Not merely the unrivalled genius of Augustine, but the air of command with which he always spoke, still further helped to give currency to its ideals. Carefully preserving the ancient formulas; retaining reverence for the ancient Creeds and veneration for the Church and its sacraments; earnestly repudiating heresy, the novelties of Augustinianism passed undetected by the majority; for they were altogether outside the reign of strict dogma as laid down in the Creeds.

Nor is the romantic element wanting in the story of the rise of Augustinianism. It was present when the great Bishop lay a-dying at Hippo while the Vandals were thundering at its gates—the North African Church of the moment being torn almost

to shreds by the bitterest internal strife. Two centuries later came the Moslems and utterly quenched the light of the Gospel in the whole of North Africa. Thus, Augustinianism perished in its birthplace; its real triumph, its lasting developments, were achieved on a foreign soil. It may be that some faiths, like certain plants, gain strength by transplantation. This is indeed true of Buddhism, and true even of Christianity itself. Neither of these religions has flourished permanently on its native soil.

One feature favourable to the growth of Augustinianism has not as yet been noticed. The fifth century was not critical—it was the opening of a period of decline. To an Ambrose and a Hilary had succeeded an Innocent or Zosimus. Yet the changes which Augustine introduced could hardly escape notice altogether, even at a time when Italy was face to face with the barbarians—when the old order was slowly dying out and the new had not yet become established. In a beautiful line Virgil tells us how the grafted tree wonders at seeing novel leaves and a fruit not its own. The

Augustinian graft was detected in more than one quarter. Prosper, who was to Augustine much what Julian was to Pelagius, has frankly told us how many saints at Marseilles repudiated Augustine's teaching, on the express ground of its novelty, saying that such teaching as that of Augustine on the Epistle to the Romans "had never before been put forth by any Churchman,"[1] a statement perfectly true, as we shall see. Nor was Marseilles the only quarter in which opposition arose to the new doctrine; as, indeed, we know from Hilary's letter to Augustine.[2] In Gaul there were also complaints, and even in North Africa itself. At Adrumetum, indeed, there seems every reason to think that it was against the novelties introduced by Augustine that Vincent of Lerins launched his well-known

[1] "Contrarium putant patrum opinioni et ecclesiastico sensui," Ep. 225, 2.

[2] "Massiliæ vel in aliis etiam locis in Gallia ventilantur." Hilary's letter is worth reading. [A great deal of valuable information on these points, agreeing very closely with what the reader finds here, is contained in Neander, "Eccl. Hist.," vol. iv. (Bohn's Transl.) and in Gieseler, "Eccl. Hist.," vols. i. and ii.—Ed.]

"Commonitorium," in which the phrase, so famous in Church history, "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus," occurs.[1] If the East, Gallio like, "cared for none of these things," it was assuredly not because of any sympathy with Carthaginianism, a system absolutely foreign to its religious standpoint in every particular, and one which contradicted all its ruling ideas—against which, indeed, the greatest Syrian Bishop of the age wrote a treatise.

* * *

The clearest evidence we can desire of the character of Augustine's teaching is furnished by a source beyond all suspicion—his own works. They contain TWO DISTINCT THEOLOGIES—an earlier and a later.

[1] Zöck., "Handb.," ii. 86. [The language of Vincentius is remarkably guarded. He never mentions Augustine, or the doctrines to which he takes exception, though he condemns Pelagius, Nestorius, and the Donatists. But he refers to the widespread anxiety certain novelties had aroused, and it is difficult to find anything else but Augustine's teaching of which he could have been speaking. Nor can it be fairly contended that the system of Augustine was *not* a novelty, or that it possessed the attributes of "antiquity, universality and consent," which Vincentius pronounced

Plainly these are due—the one to the Catholic traditions, which Augustine at first accepted with little question; the other to the maturer workings of his own mind. Unfortunately, whenever these later tendencies of Augustine's teaching are pointed out in our own days, there are to be found writers of a certain class who point us to the earlier and better teachings of his

to be necessary in order to establish the catholicity of a doctrine. The twenty-third chapter of the "Commonitorium" is very worthy of notice at the present moment. The author discusses the question whether we may or may not expect progress (*profectus*) in religion. He decides in the affirmative. But it must be progress, not revolution. "Fas est etenim ut prisca illa cœlestis philosophiæ dogmata processu temporis excurentur, limentur, poliantur, sed *nefas est ut commutentur, nefas ut detruncentur, ut mutilentur.*" You may, in fact, he says, investigate, make more clear, and intelligible the ancient principles of the faith. But you may *not* alter them, clip them, mutilate them. He inveighs against "profane novelties," and hints that they are sometimes put forward by "certain excellent persons in the Church" (*excellentes quædam personæ*), c. 10. He more than hints that Origen and Tertullian invented novelties, and leaves it to be inferred that other men of ability and authority may, in his opinion, have done the same. The "Commonitorium" was written in 434, four years after the death of Augustine and three after the Council of Ephesus.—Ed.]

Catholic period, altogether forgetting the fact that in his later days he had given them up completely. One would hardly attempt to defend the later absolutism of Pio Nono by quoting his early liberalism. Nor would one strive to prove Dr. Pusey to be a lover of German theology in his later years by pointing to an early book of his in praise of German thought. Sometimes the earlier teaching of Augustine is adroitly mixed up by his apologists with his later heresies (the term is used in its proper signification of the *deliberate choice* of opinions which are not explicitly taught by the Catholic Church). The effect of this is to perplex the reader and to obscure the difference between Augustine's earlier and later teaching. But it must be admitted that in his later writings his Catholic and his individual tendencies are often found in strange and even inconsistent combination.

The explanation of the genesis of these two theologies is easy. Shaken to the very depths of his being by the long agony which preceded his conversion, Augustine longed for rest, and yielded at first an apparently

complete assent to the current teachings of that Church which had sheltered his troubled soul. After his long and weary quest after truth and certainty, a few years of repose were a necessity. To this period belong those books "De Libero Arbitrio," "De Vera Religione," and "De Diversis Quæstionibus," etc., which speak well of human nature, defend free will, recognise human merit, lay comparatively little stress on the Fall, and assert the innocence of infants. Thus it is that one may quote Augustine against Augustinianism and find in the earlier writings an armoury of weapons against the latter. A few specimens I give from his early works seem almost aimed at his later doctrine of original sin. "You must," he tells us, in very emphatic words, "either deny the existence of sin or admit that its commission is wilful."[1] Or, again, "Sin is so completely voluntary that in no way can there be sin except it be voluntary.[2] Punishment would

[1] "De Ver. Rel.," 14, "Ut nullo modo sit peccatum si non sit voluntarium."

[2] *Ib.*

be unjust unless sin were wilful.[1] Sin exists no where except in the will. Nor can sin be imputed to any one except to a willing agent. An inevitable sin is no sin.[2] Neither good nor bad can be fairly imputed to any one who has not acted of his proper will.[3] Infants are without sin.[4] More might easily be quoted to the same effect.

I pass on to another point. It is not God's grace irresistibly working that saves, it is God's warning and persuasion addressed to man who is free.[5] It is not Pelagius, it is the early Augustine who assures us that man is able to live rightly when he so pleases.[6] Also that by our free will we can merit God.[7] Once more, to believe is ours (*i.e.*, faith is in our own power). If we obey the call we merit the Holy Spirit,

1 "De Lib. Arb.," i. 1.

2 *Ib.*, iii. 1, 17, 8.

3 "De Div. Quest.," 24.

4 "De Lib. Arb.," iii. 23, "Parvuli, quorum per ætatem nulla peccata sunt."

5 "De Ver. Rel.," 31.

6 "De Lib. Arb.," ii. 1, "Recte vivere, cum vult, potest."

7 "Ex. Ep. ad Rom." [So in MS.—Ed.]

both to believe and to will is ours.[1] There is in sinners something preceding (grace) by which they are made worthy of justification.[2] God's predestination is not absolute, but contingent on his foreknowledge of character.[3]

As to the Fall, in these earlier writings its effect is regarded as chiefly negative. We lose the sign-manual of God. We remain merely creatures. We forfeit Paradise, but of the later theories of Augustine we find hardly a trace. The approximation of such teachings to the tenets of Pelagius is striking; it is true they are not Pelagian, but they are certainly far nearer to it than to Augustine's later views. How many centuries of conflict and disquiet has it already cost the West to regain the earlier position of Augustine, and how many more conflicts and anxieties still await her before completely regaining it?

The earlier Augustine was, if only for a

[1] *Ib.*

[2] Augustine implies that otherwise God would be unjust. "De Div. Quæst.," 68.

[3] *Ib.*

moment, actually on the verge of Universalism, which we must remember was then very common in North Africa.[1] "The goodness of God so orders," he says, "*all defective* (*i.e.*, sinful) *things* that they may be where it is most fit for them to be, *until*, their motions being regulated, they return to that point whence they departed."[2] This is undoubtedly Universalism, for how can *all sinful things* return to God except on the hypothesis of Universalism? This was written in 385 A.D. Even some eight years later Augustine wrote as follows of Christ's work:—"O Medicine that provides for all, that repairs all lost things, that amends all depraved things, that makes new all polluted things."[3] In 390 A.D. we find him writing that we are to cling to the gift of His goodness, by which it seemed right that nothing should perish which was made through the Word.[4] In

[1] "Ench.," 112.

[2] See a sophistical explanation of this, Rev. i. 7. "De Morib. Man.," ii. 7.

[3] "De Ag. Christiano." [No reference is given.—Ed.]

[4] "De Ver. Rel.," 55. "Ut non interiret quicquid ab eo per Verbum factum est."

these words and those that follow, written in 388 A.D., we have the last flickering of this wider hope. God, when He liberates, sets free not a part but the whole of what was in danger.[1] Besides the abundant evidence furnished by his work, Augustine frankly avows that some at least of his later views were not those of the majority of his contemporaries. Thus his "Enchiridion" contains an avowal that his pessimism was not the belief of most Christians, and another of his works tells us that the usual reply to the question why men are not converted was—*Quia nolunt*—because they are not willing, a reply totally opposed to his later theology. Augustine's language is not always consistent as to the duty of truthfulness, but as a rule he conceals nothing. His aim is to be truthful. He is honourably distinguished by having upheld a stricter standard of veracity than had been common in the Church. He controverted the laxer views of Jerome on this point. Nevertheless, the paradox still confronts us

[1] "De Div. Quæst.," x. [This passage seems patient of another interpretation.—Ed.]

that if he is one of the most truthful he is also one of the most sophistical of early writers—the most truthful, for his was a nature fearless and frank in its strength—the most sophistical, for how else was it possible to defend a novel system on the ground that it was ancient and Catholic? I believe that most critics have failed to see the unique interest attaching to his "Retractations." This book, with his "Confessions," may fitly occupy a class apart. It is, in fact, a further confession—at least to those who read between the lines. Nothing like these two treatises can be found in all early patristic literature. The first contains the story of Augustine's conversion to Christianity. It is the earliest autobiography in Christian literature. The second gives us material for the story of his conversion to Augustinianism; it is a confession the more complete, because unconscious, of the novelty of the views he upheld. No sharp line can be drawn in practice between the earlier and the later Augustine. In all such cases the change is gradual, but we can approximately fix one date, which ought to have formed a

landmark to the historian of Latin Christianity. At the time when, towards the end of the fourth century, Augustine wrote to Simplicianus, the successor of Ambrose at Milan, he had grasped at least in outline much of his future theology, though as yet he had not quite broken with the past. In this letter we find one of the earliest appearances of the famous phrase which styles the whole race of man *una quædam massa peccati* [1]—one mass of sin, or, as he elsewhere puts it, one mass of mud—a statement of which echoes still meet us at every corner in Latin Christianity at once within and without the Roman obedience. Augustine had employed the same phrase a few years earlier,[2] but with the curious and noteworthy qualification that this mass of sin might contain somewhat of merit within it—a qualification which at a later period wholly disappears. It is worthy of notice that in the few years intervening between this letter and his treatise, "Ad Simplicianum," Augustine had

[1] I. 16.

[2] See "De Div. Quæst.," 68.

practically lost all belief in free will.[1] Here, too, that arbitrary Predestinarianism which is really the basis of his later thought was virtually adopted, and he sees[2] an eternal law binding and coercing the whole framework of creation. We must not fail to note the gradation—a mass of sin, yet not without some merit; a *sort of* mass of sin; finally a mass of sin without any qualification whatever. We can neither hope nor expect to find in the "Retractations" a full avowal of Augustine's change of opinion. But what is lacking can be abundantly supplied from his other writings when examined and compared.

To indicate the distinction between the earlier and the later theology of Augustine, and to show that on certain vital points a real revolution was accomplished by his later thought in theological opinion, is one of the main objects of these pages. Their contention is that from this later theology dates in fact a new era. We are often told of the

[1] Cf. with the passage just quoted, "Ad Simplic.," i. 20.

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 6.

greatness of the fourth century. That century was unquestionably the great century for the East, and for the establishment and definition of the great central doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. But for the West no period so epoch-making can be found as those brief fourteen years which elapsed between 410, when the Pelagian controversy commenced, till about 424, the date which saw Augustinianism virtually established in the Latin Church. It is difficult to make facts such as these clear to persons who have not made a detailed study of the subject discussed in these pages. The true character of the change can only be estimated when Augustine's final theological position is stated in his own words, and when, further, it is compared with the theological teaching which preceded it, even at Carthage. Still more will it be clear to those who have carefully studied the theology current in Italy, in Gaul, and, above all, in the East, for the first 400 years of Church history.

The most complete proof of Augustine's success is our ignorance of the extent to which we are dominated by him to this

day. Our unconsciousness of the rule of the great Bishop of Hippo is the measure of his victory. Our very speech bewrays us. Like the *bourgeois* in Molière, who talks prose without knowing it, so we talk the *patois* of Carthage, and yet we know it not! Where, for instance, can you find current in pre-Augustinian theology such terms as "universal human depravity," "predestination," "original sin," "perseverance," "effectual calling," "decrees"? True, these catch-words are rapidly dying out, but it needs no very great power of discrimination to see that they are very far indeed from being yet dead. They have done their work. They have profoundly modified the very alphabet of theology in the West for 1200 years. And they have practically been accepted by Rome and Protestantism alike—at least, they have never been disavowed by Christians until lately—so thoroughly has the spirit of the later Augustine permeated the mind of the Reformed, as well as of the unreformed, Church. If Augustinianism survives among us to-day, it is not so much in the formal

acceptance of its definitions—it is rather as an air which we unconsciously breathe. His ideas yet live among us and colour our thoughts, affecting—and, may we not add, degrading—our ideas both of God and man. If we can no longer describe them as a system of dogmas, yet they still remain among us as an atmosphere of thought, which produces a wholly changed set of ruling ideas. In fact, the great Bishop has penetrated all our defences and continuously dominated our leading ideas during all the changes of the last fifteen centuries. Even the "Teutonic Christianity" which Dean Milman[1] vainly attempts to distinguish from Latin Christianity is nothing else but a variety of Augustinianism. Long before Luther or Calvin's time a Saxon monk—the famous Gottschalk—had pushed Augustinianism to its extreme limit.[2] The Reformation itself was largely a renaissance of Carthaginian theology. We may take the various Confessions of Faith found in a book easily

[1] [In his "History of Latin Christianity."—Ed.]

[2] [Gottschalk ived in the *ninth* century.—Ed.]

procured,[1] as a proof that the thoughts of the Churches which put them forth centre in Augustine, and speak his dialect. One and all they bend like trees before the still prevailing wind, which, after the Reformation as well as before, continued to blow in the same direction. Their talk is of doctrines unknown to the ancient Creeds. Their inspiration comes from Hippo, not from Jerusalem. The most elaborate of the Thirty-nine Articles is on a topic never before Augustine so much as ventilated in any lists of *Credenda* issued by the various Churches, orthodox or heretical. Yes; the fact must be admitted. Roman, Puritan, and even Anglican have alike all been—nay, remain still—this man's disciples. Hooker, as Maurice says, trembles at the name of Calvin, who is but Augustine's pupil, and when he calls the very elect *dung and mire and ulcers*, he is talking not the language of the Catholic Church throughout the ages, but the dialect of Hippo. Our literature, religious as well as secular, is full of it. It has apparently prompted one or

[1] The Sylloge Confessionum.

two incorrect renderings in our Authorised Version of the New Testament. The most influential of religious books have been nothing but varieties of Augustine's teaching. Bunyan's immortal pilgrim really starts on his journey from Hippo. Popular poets and popular hymns are still saturated with Augustinianism, and it has furnished the airs of our music, the airs which we repeat to-day. It has even crept into our politics, and when Mr. Gladstone once spoke of "*a double dose of original sin*," he was really using a phrase coined in the mint at Hippo; he was unconsciously, yet really, bending the knee to the great theologian of the West and using language which before his ascendancy would have been unintelligible. Augustine has captured in Milton the most famous amateur theologian of our country. The poet's very angels talk in Augustinian phrase of "*Fate, Foreknowledge, Infinite Decree.*" He enthrones it in the very courts of Heaven, as though its dialect were the current speech there. His great poem begins with original sin. His theme is "Man's

first disobedience."[1] Cowper, again, teems with Augustine's leading thoughts. And when Young describes "*that hideous sight, a naked human soul*," he is a virtual echo of the same doctrine. If we turn to the Continent we find, as stated already, Augustinianism inspiring the Reformers. We find it reproduced in its most characteristic points by Calvin, and thus dominating the most rigidly logical among the leaders of the Reformation. In fact, so deep rooted were its fundamental ideas that a mind so typically liberal and so saintly as Oberlin's will not recognise a Roman Catholic except he admits *the wholesale natural depravity of man*. Thus a doctrine absolutely unknown for the first four centuries had actually, in later ages, become "the headstone of the corner."

* * *

The "staying power" of Augustine is one of the wonders of theology. What are we to say of a dictator whose sway was actually confirmed instead of shaken when Latin

[1] It is worth notice that Milton's inspiration largely failed him when he sang of Paradise Regained—in which, indeed, Latin Christianity has never believed.

Christianity parted in twain at the Reformation? What of the authority of a man before whom Luther and the Pope alike agreed to bow? In what consists the mysterious fascination of this man to-day for liberals like Harnack, who, while practically surrendering the Creeds of Christendom, yet clings to and venerates the Carthaginian doctor? In thousands of congregations here and in America the Westminster Confession is still the Standard of Faith, and, if belief in its letter be on the wane, its spirit is still living and active. Even in a liberal like Coleridge distinct traces of North African theology may easily be found. The Evangelical revival, which even yet has not spent its force, was based on it, and when the inevitable reaction to Tractarianism came we find Dr. Pusey describing himself as a "leper from head to foot," and Keble singing, "What boots it gathering one lost leaf, *out of the sere and rotting heap?*" Both men are echoing Augustine's sad refrain: "*Una massa peccati—una massa luti!*" Can we regard Augustinianism as extinct, so long as this language is still heard among

us ? It is found among Nonconformists, as well as among those who unchurch all Nonconformists. Its gloom and pessimism have some mysterious and unexplained charm for the strongest Western minds. And Carlyle, the biographer of Frederick the Great, while equally sceptical with his hero, never wearies of crying out for some avenger to sweep into its fitting dust heap the effete and worthless mass of humanity.

* * *

For triumphs so wonderful as these, Augustine possessed endowments, at once intellectual and spiritual, of a kind before unknown in the West, and unsurpassed even in the East. He had his defects, it is true. Like Newman, the most brilliant theological thinker in the last century, he was surpassed in learning by many of his contemporaries. His famous opponent, Julian of Eclanum, was far more widely read in Augustine's day than Augustine himself. He cannot be said to have shone as a critic. And his style falls distinctly below that of Jerome or Cyprian, or Lactantius, at their best ; but you may search in vain the whole

literature of the whole primitive Church for a book like his "Confessions." To call it original would be inadequate. It was not simply original, it was creative. With its publication a new force came into religious thought, a new world was opened out. The book may be said to belong to no age, for it belongs to all ages alike. Critics have thought they detected in Erigena the first dawn of modern thought. But here is a book centuries earlier, yet still more modern, as well as far more original. We read about the Basils and the Gregories. We feel that a Clement or an Origen was far more lovable—but we seem to *know* Augustine. It is his personality, even more than his commanding originality, which holds us in its grip. Once a profligate, he is now the great type of conversion; he has known how to make of his sins a part of his magnetism, he has "drawn us with the cords of a man," he has found a spell to touch the heart of Christendom. He is the typical prodigal returning to his father's house. Yet if he has returned as a prodigal, he has remained as master, and

Hippo is to-day the Mecca of the Western Church.

Nor is this all. Our wonder increases yet more when we remember that he who has dominated the Western mind for so many centuries, is yet far more—a dialectician of unrivalled dexterity—an author and controversialist of almost inexhaustible readiness and fertility—a philosopher and a mystic—a metaphysician capable of meeting the greatest intellects on their chosen ground and sounding the recesses of the human spirit—a thinker whose suggestive phrases still light up many a problem in life and in philosophy. I know not whether Origen should be classed with Augustine intellectually, for the works of the former which have come down to us do not sustain his vast renown, so dilapidated and fragmentary are they, and so lacking in that terse felicity of phrase which distinguishes the great Carthaginian teacher. The Alexandrian has influenced the few, the Carthaginian at once the few and the many.

An emphatic caution, however, is needed here. Out of the magnetism of his pages,

the romance of his mother's tears and prayers for him, his dramatic conversion, there has grown up, as has already been said,[1] a sort of *Augustinus poeticus*—an Augustine of legend has been developed. Millions still persist in mistaking the Augustine of sentiment for the Augustine of fact—the actual man himself. Such startling contrasts frequently present themselves in ecclesiastical biography. St. Dominic, spending the night watches in pouring out his soul before the Crucified One—St. Dominic breathing out fire and slaughter against heresy, urging on the torturer, inciting to blood and cruelty—are indeed the same, yet how distinct! So also the Augustine who, in his best moments, set immortal thoughts to the music of immortal words, and the Augustine who first in the Church of God denied Christ's death for all men, who denied free will, who urged on the persecutor by every art of sophistry, who forged a theology so cruel, so shocking, that he himself at length virtually stands aghast, but unmoved, as he surveys the completed fabric,[2]—

[1] P. 23. [2] "De Dono Persev.," xxii.

different as they may appear to be—are really the same. It is an interesting matter of speculation what Augustine would have become had he lived later and found the field of inquiry rigidly guarded — every avenue barred; but when he appeared, the raw material, so to say, of practical theology was still in part plastic. Large areas were as yet unsurveyed, almost unexplored — there were wide tracts of common yet unfenced. Yet one thing is clear: the choice which Augustine made for his specific contributions to theology is one no Hellenist could have made. His interests are anthropological. His theology is *really a pathology*; he is *par excellence* a penologist. The diseases of sin interest him more than the remedy, for the plain reason that he believes no remedy to exist for the lapse of the *world*. Nor does he seem to care. It is not Redemption of man; it is sin and its penalty—it is occult Divine justice, a subject of which he never wearies.

Another fact forced upon our observation is the great part which controversy has played in shaping all Latin dogma. Here

the contrast is striking between Latin and Early Alexandrian theology, for the latter was fashioned, like the first temple, noiselessly. But in North Africa there is never repose. Its Church hardly seems to have known peace since Tertullian breathed out his passionate spirit in fiery appeals. Augustine, too—a gladiator and theologian at once—is from natural bent a controversialist; his life as Bishop was one long battle with Manichæan, with Donatist, with Pelagian. And while we fully admit that his system is no mere outcome of debate, yet controversy led him to extremes, to saying the harshest thing in the harshest way, and thus profoundly influenced his thought.

We are, however, chiefly concerned here with his last and greatest controversy, *i.e.*, with the Pelagians. We must therefore say a few words about them, not merely because the controversy is, in fact, not yet closed, but because, apart from this, it is impossible to understand Augustine, or to do anything to shape out the theology of the future. Our first duty is to be just to the Pelagians and recognise their personal holiness and

intellectual capacity. Unlike Arians and Donatists, they never sought to make a sect. Pelagius was very much what we should call a Revivalist—of course, in the fashion of his age—on ascetic principles. He came to Rome about the year 400 A.D., a monk and a preacher of righteousness—one of the earliest of a line of devout men who have tried to reform the vices of the great city and its clergy. His fame spread rapidly and widely. At first Augustine speaks of him with great respect. In these days, when it seems generally assumed that Pelagius was an arch-heretic, it will be a surprise to many to learn that up to Augustine's intervention this was not the view taken of Pelagius even at Rome. Yet it is the fact, nevertheless. Candour compels the historian frankly to note that Pelagius's long course of teaching at Rome [1] had apparently aroused no suspicion in the metropolis of Latin Christianity. Nor is it less his duty to point out other similar facts. The confession of faith of Pelagius

[1] "Romæ diutissime vixit." [I have been unable to verify this quotation.—Ed.]

long continued to pass muster as an orthodox symbol. It is often cited as Jerome's explanation of the Creed ; it is quoted in the *libri Carolini.* Indeed, it was because they were attributed to Jerome, the pattern of orthodoxy, that Pelagius's Commentaries on Romans have been preserved. Pope Zosimus's letters to the African Bishops contain emphatic testimony to the orthodoxy both of Pelagius and Celestius. It is as impossible as it is unfair to account for this merely by the theory that the Pelagians were adepts at deceit. Even if we accepted this theory, how should we explain the long catena of Pelagian and *quasi*-Pelagian teaching which might easily be gathered from all the Hellenistic Schools. Such a catena might even be compiled from pre-Augustinian Latinism, which is not merely non-Augustinian, but often anti-Augustinian, as we shall see. Even Jerome shows evidently in his writings against Pelagius, that he has never grasped the points really at issue. His polemic against Pelagius is itself semi-Pelagian. I shall be probably told that Pelagius was condemned at

Ephesus in 430 A.D. It would be easy to assign abundant reason for what Harnack justly styles "*the comedy played at Ephesus.*" Every historical fact shows that the East cared not a jot about the whole controversy—most probably did not even understand it. Else why is it that the three great Eastern Church historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, do not so much as name the Pelagian question?[1] Why is it, again, that the great Eastern divine, St. John Damascene, writing on dogma some 300 years later, has no heading or chapter assigned to the doctrine of birth sin? If mere railing at dogma be unwise, not less unwise is mere railing at heresy: far too often is the assumption made *that heretics are wilfully attacking the received doctrine.* This is quite untrue in such cases as those of Pelagius and Nestorius, and not in these only, and we ought honestly to avow it. Indeed, a fair mind will admit that heresy not seldom suggests some forgotten or unpopular aspect of truth. We should

[1] Wiggers, "Darstellung des Augustinus u. Pelagius," i. 324.

remember that at best our formulas are not exhaustive—that our dogmas are approximations only. Nor is it easy to see how in an age when as yet no Press, no journals, existed, the needed sifting of dogma could have been accomplished, had there been no dissentients: "*Croyez moi*," said a great man, "*l'erreur aussi a son mérite*." Practically it comes to this, that had there been no heretics there would have been no critics. Indeed, in a true sense, there would have been no dogma. And there is yet something to be learnt, if men had but the candour to avow it, from those early Nonconformists, whose name among Churchmen is but a synonym for error and a target for scorn.

In our discussion of Augustinianism we shall see how on more than one point in the controversy between Augustine and Pelagius Catholic opinion has virtually gone round to the Pelagian side. But before entering on our examination we must recognise a difficulty which confronts us. In the fifth century they burned, not heretics, but their books—an embarrassing fact for

the historian.[1] Of Celestius, one of the three Pelagian leaders, only a few sentences survive. Of Pelagius himself some brief writings have been preserved by a strange chance. Of Julian we have nothing complete. Nevertheless, we are able to gain a more accurate view of the controversy than might be expected, (*a*) because of Augustine's habit of transcribing the words of his opponents, and (*b*) because portions of some of the works of Pelagius have been handed down.

What, then, is Pelagianism? It will first be convenient to say what it is *not*. It is not a form of Hellenistic teaching. It is not an easy-going substitute for Christianity. It is not a denial of the Atonement or even of grace. It was a kind of ascetic revivalism, an assertion of free will, but pushed too far. We may, perhaps, define it as the assertion of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. To the Pelagian the

[1] [Scholars have recently been able to throw considerable light on the real views of the Priscillianists, whose opinions have been seriously misrepresented by their opponents.—Ed.]

law of grace is but the law of Nature expanded. Nature has received so much from God that it can keep His commandments without any special and particular aid from Him—it can freely serve Him by the action of His general laws. The Fall, whatever its effects, does not altogether destroy the original relation of the soul to God. Grace and Nature, instead of being sharply contrasted, as by Augustine, are almost identified—are certainly sisters. In this and in the emphasis laid on Free Will with Reason as its guide and arbiter, we have an approach to Hellenism, which has misled some theologians into regarding Pelagianism as an offshoot of Hellenism. That the former resembled the latter pretty closely is undeniable. A favourite Greek idea was the unbroken unity of the natural and the spiritual.[1] To live according to nature was the sum of the tenets of Stoicism. To live according to nature was the old Hellenist equivalent for living rightly. Here the Pelagian reproduces the old

[1] Zeller, "Pre. Soc. Phil.," i. 138.

Stoic formula.[1] These are the Hellenistic features in Pelagianism. And yet it remains Latin in its deepest thought. It is Latin in its legal tone; Latin in its anthropological bias; Latin in its hard, dry practical spirit; Latin in its denial of any solidarity in the issue of redemption; Latin in its pessimism. There are even points on which Pelagianism, oddly enough, approximates to Augustinianism. Both systems exclude Love as the ruling fact in the Universe. Both minimise without denying the need of Christ's death. The one manifests a tendency to substitute Free Will, and the other Predestination for the Atonement—the one dwelling too much on man's will and its power, the other on God's will and its arbitrary absolutism. Both, though in different ways, deny any organic unity of the human race. Both are extremist, both ascetic, and both are little concerned with mere points of ritual or

[1] Yet Mr. Mozley is certainly wrong in saying that the Pelagians made light of sin. Pelagius shocked Jerome by the readiness with which he assigned endless torments as the penalty awaiting the sins of imperfect Christians.

worship. Some inkling of this unity, amid sharp contrasts, seems to have been present to the mind of Augustine. He often turns on Julian with a "Tu quoque." "You call my doctrines hard, but what, in fact, are your own? You say it is hard to condemn an innocent infant, if unbaptised, to even a mitigated hell, but how can you defend the justice of excluding, as you do, such infants for ever from the Kingdom of God?" In fact Augustine here hit a blot in Julian's system. Julian had no entirely satisfactory answer to make, because, though a Rationalist,[1] he was no true Hellenist; that is, he had no belief in the inalienable tie binding all reasonable beings to the Eternal Reason (Logos).

In fact, the Pelagians went too far, and yet not far enough. They longed to vindicate God and only succeeded in setting up a weaker theology than Augustine's, without really justifying the Creator. In this they have had imitators in all ages of the Church. Both were cruel while protesting against cruelty, and both lacked all true sense of the

[1] His formula was "quod ratio arguit non potest auctoritas vindicare."

breadth and length and depth and height of Redemption. Yet we must do full justice to the Pelagians. The weakness of their theology was a tendency—practically at least—to lead men away from God. When their ablest leader penned the famous words that free will *sets us free from God*, *he really signed the death warrant of his system.* Even Augustine was nearer to the heart of true religion when in his best moments he confesses himself to be athirst for God—for the living God. He admits that without God there is no life for the soul.

* * *

We now return to Augustine. What did he teach? What are the special characteristics of Augustinianism? A satisfactory answer is rarely given to these questions. Many writers betake themselves to second-hand sources. Some quote from text-books; others give us disquisitions on the metaphysic or the psychology (or what-not) of Augustine. I shall confine myself to the far safer and more accurate—if more humble—course of stating in order, and virtually in his own words, the various points of his system.

We begin with a truly amazing fact—Augustine's theory of original sin starts from a false rendering. The Greek phrase ἐν τῷ[1] was by the Latin versions rendered as *in quo*, and St. Paul was thus made to say *in quo*[2] *omnes peccaverunt* (in whom all sinned), instead of "*because* (in that) all sinned." This false rendering of the Apostle's words is followed by a false rendering of the Apostle's thought which runs through every line of Augustinianism. St. Paul dwells on Ruin in order to heighten the idea of Redemption, its grandeur and its universality. Thus, Adam's sin, of which virtually nothing whatever is said by any Old Testament writer, by any Evangelist, or by Christ, becomes to Augustine all in all. It is invested with *quasi*-miraculous powers for evil—it is inexhaustible. *Per rationem seminis* all the human family sinned in Adam,[3] all sinning *de facto*, all damned everlastingly *de jure*, and the overwhelming majority damned in good earnest. In a passage from

[1] Rom. v. 12. [2] Adam.
[3] "Op. Imp. Contr. Jul.," iv. 104.

Augustine[1] are two words full of significance —*carnali generatione.* Here opens a miserable chapter of Augustine in which he drags sin and the sexual relation into the closest connection. Here we may safely find the fountain head of that pruriency which has disgraced so much of the practical theology of the past, and which still defiles the Confessional. Sexual desire transmits the *virus* of original sin which flows on through *libido*, thus transmitting the poison from parent to child, through the *membra genitalia* on whose *inobedientia* Augustine dilates so often.

This theory is primary in his doctrine of original sin, is practically the hinge on which it turns: Sex and sin are thus two watchwords of Augustinianism, two pillars of its temple. I append a few references out of many that might be given. How Augustine revels in such sexual themes may be seen in many passages.[2]

* * *

[1] "De. Pecc. Mer.," iii. 8.

[2] "De Nupt., "i. 5, 8, 24; "De Bono Conj.," 3, 6; "De Pecc. Orig.," 34, 35; "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 7, 16, etc.

"Höchst ekelhaft" is the verdict of so staunch an ally as Harnack.[1] "Perfectly loathsome" indeed is the constant iteration of *membra genitalia*, *membrorum inobedientia*, *concubitus*, in his pages. It is the thought of an ex-profligate round whom, though risen, the grave clothes of his past are still clinging.[2]

Having discussed the mode of transmission of original sin, we next proceed to its results. So awful are they that the only adequate mode of chronicling them

[1] Dogm. iii.

[2] [The only early writer in the East who enters fully into subjects of this kind is Clement of Alexandria. See his "Pædagogus," Book ii., and his "Miscellanies," Book iii.; also the last chapter of Book ii. But there is the widest difference between the two. Not only does Clement insist continually on the purity of the marriage relation, and on the folly and impiety of those who cast aspersions on it, but his pages are entirely free from that tendency to "revel" in the mention of details from which other ancient authors shrink. Thus in his "De Civitate Dei" Augustine enters into the question whether the physical pleasure which may be felt by virgins in the embraces of their brutal barbarian ravishers has or has not the nature of sin — a thoroughly unnecessary and revolting question. Undoubtedly the prurience which permeates the literature of the Roman Confessional finds

would be to borrow the prophet's roll written, within and without, all "mourning, lamentation, and woe!" Of these hardly more than an outline can here be given. Practically all infants are by nature *the devil's own.* Of such is the kingdom of the devil. It is the devil who implants sexual desire, hence *quidquid per illud nascitur cogit esse sub* (?) *diabolo.* As a man strolling through his garden gathers fruit, so the devil plucks infants as from his own fruit tree.[1] All births are under the devil.[2] All are under the devil, whatever their parents may be, till baptised.[3] Those born under sin must be under him who is the author of sin.[4] Naturally those who belong to the devil go to the devil universally, some few escaping by baptism or by predestination to life.

its origin in Augustine. And we may infer from the pages of Clement where Augustine learned it. I am bound to say that in my belief the words of the author in the text are not one whit too strong.—Ed.]

1 "De Nupt.," i. 23; "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 6, 17.

2 "C. Jul.," iii. 5.

3 "De Nupt.," ii. 5.

4 "Contr. Jul.," ii.; "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 17.

What this means Augustine shall tell us: The Catholic faith teaches that all unbaptised infants go to the damnation of perdition.[1] They suffer the second death.[2] The second death he defines as the *torture of soul and body in eternal fire.*[3] Augustine's emphatic assertion of this is to be noted. Even Julian's impudence,[4] he says, will not go so far. It is a painful story to the impartial reader, this of Augustine blazing with wrath at a Pelagian for saying *less than everybody to-day believes.* Yet on this point even Augustine had to climb down. After designating the future state of all unbaptised infants as eternal death, he yet admits that this state (eternal death) may be preferable to non-existence,[5] and he

[1] "Ep.," 190.

[2] "Op. Imp.," vi. 36.

[3] "Op. Imp.," vi. 31; cf. "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 22; "De Pec. Mer.," ii. 25; "De P. Orig.," ii. 18.

[4] I have not given the full force of Augustine's words: "Non opinor perditionem vestram usque ad istam posse impudentiam prosilire" ("I don't believe your damnation can leap out as far as such impudence"). This is quoted to illustrate Augustine's temper towards the close of this controversy. See Mozley, ii. 789.

[5] "C. Jul.," v. 11.

assigns to unbaptised infants the most tolerable form of damnation.[1] How a fair critic may retort—can "the torture of soul and body in eternal fire" (see above) be ever preferable to non-existence? Thus Adam's sin, transmitted universally by sexual relations, renders all men in a very frequent phrase of Augustine's, "*una massa peccati*," or "*luti*." The original of the ever-memorable "total depravity" doctrine may be traced to a treatise of the year 380 A.D.[2] And Augustine expressly teaches that even though not a solitary unit were redeemed out of the heap of damned humanity, no charge would lie against the Divine justice.[3]

[1] "Ep.," 184, 186.

[2] "De Div. Quest.," 68. Some of the phrases which Augustine uses to describe the lot of fallen humanity are as follows: "massa perditionis," "conspersio damnata" ("De Pec. Orig.," 31; "De Cor. et Gr.," 7); "omnes ad damnationem nascuntur" ("De Pec. Mer.," i. 28); "damnabilis stirps" ("Ep.," 190, c. 3 (9)); "universa massa perditionis" ("C. Jul.," iii. 4); "massa perditionis" ("Op. Imp.," iv. 131); "to the damned mass perdition is due" ("Ep.," 194, c. 3 (14)).

[3] "De Cor. et Gr.," 10; "De Pred. Sanct.," viii.

There results also from the Fall a total loss of free will.[1] And here we have to notice the mode in which Augustine plays with words. Sometimes he says that freedom is not destroyed by grace, because grace makes men truly free. This is, in fact, an adroit substitution of one proposition for another.[2] Sometimes he claims freedom for fallen man, while what he means is freedom only to sin.[3] Another characteristic sophism is his assent to the proposition that without free will there can be no sin, but he adds, "Without free will there is that sin which is the penalty of sin,"[4] and which in his theory, now about to be explained, constitutes the great mass of actual transgression.

[1] Augustine's own free will theories show three stages. He is not far from the Pelagian standpoint in his early anti-Manichæan books; he has reached a semi-Pelagian standpoint in such treatises as "De Pecc. Mort.," ii. 5; "De Spir.," 34. This was probably a very brief stage. His latest books assert man's total incapacity for good—the only freedom being freedom to sin—and claim that grace is irresistible (Wiggers, i. 265).

[2] "De Spir.," 30; "De Nupt.," ii. 3.

[3] Wiggers, i. 136; "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 2, 3.

[4] "Op. Imp.," vi. 17, 21.

To the total loss of free will must next be added, as a result of the Fall, *a necessity to sin* in man, which is penal. Sin in Augustine's theory now changes to *a possibili in necessarium.*[1] Nay, God Himself steps in judicially and vindictively as *ordinator peccatorum.*[2] He is *justissimus ordinator malarum voluntatum.*[3] God orders even that which He does not create (sin).[4] For wicked men to commit this or that sin is not in their own power, but in God's hand, who divides the darkness (sin) and orders it.[5] To understand this a very awful part of Augustine's theory must be kept in view. He holds that God punishes sin by ordering fresh sin, and makes a clear distinction between sin *per se* and sin as the *pœna peccati.* To the latter, being judicially inflicted, man's consent is not necessary. He must sin.[6] Augustine hence concludes that after the Fall an obligation to sin was

1 "Op. Imp.," v. 64.
2 "Conf.," i. 10. See "De Nat. et Gr.," 22.
3 "De Civ. Dei.," ii. 17.
4 "Enarr.," in Ps. vii.
5 "De Pred. Sanct.," 16.
6 "Op. Imp.," i. 104, 5; iv. 90, 100; v. 28, 47, 51; "De Nat. et Gr.," 23.

(penally) transmitted *in posteros*.[1] Liberty has gone, and there has come *peccatum habendi dura necessitas*.[2] There is a *necessarium peccatum* from which we cannot abstain.[3] When we explore Augustine's theology a fresh terror is in store for us at each step. We have here, for instance, a representation of God as One who ordains an ever-fresh and ever-growing crop of sins, whose deadly vengeance takes the form of compelling the multiplication of sins ; who thus, I am forced to say, *seems* to do the devil's work.

Nor does even this exhaust the list of Augustine's assumptions. "The appetite grows with what it feeds on," and the next step is a declaration that *God actually forces sin on man*. We must ever bear in mind the advance in severity, the gradual crystallisation by Augustine of theory into dogma, if we would understand his ultimate position. At one time he sanctioned the Catholic view that God permits but does not force sin on

[1] "De Civ. D.," xiv.

[2] "De Pecc. Just.," iv.

[3] "Op. Imp.," v. 59; cf. 64, and "C. Jul.," v. 3.

man.[1] About twenty-five years after he is found stating[2] that by God's occult justice perversity of the heart takes place *ut . . . inde peccatum, et sit ipsum peccatum præcedentis etiam pœna peccati.*[3] This is "quite clear," he thinks (*liquido apparet*). His meaning here is placed beyond doubt by what follows immediately. He expressly mentions Julian's view that God abandons the sinner and does not compel him to sin (*relicti non compulsi impeccata*), only to reject it. As if, retorts Augustine, the Apostle[4] *did not assert both!* Once launched, he calls it madness to doubt that God hands men over to such passion of disgrace, *ut inde peccetur*, in order that sin may be committed. God does not, indeed, create the evil will, but He employs it. So far as direct Divine agency is asserted, God bends the wills of men to good or to evil.[5] That in this sense God forces sin on men seems clearly taught, though, as a rule, Augustine contents himself with the phrase that God

1 "De Spir.," 31.
2 "Ad Simpl.," ii.
3 "C. Jul.," v. 3.
4 Rom. ix. 22.
5 "De Gr. et L.," Arts. 20, 21.

punishes sin and deserts the sinner.[1] To all these terrors it is a mere anti-climax—though necessary to complete the theory of the results of the Fall—to add that to it are to be ascribed bodily death and generally all pains and infirmities whatsoever.[2]

Inevitably at this point there arises this question. How can baptised parents transmit all this mass of evil to their children? It is worth noting that baptism, being "for the remission of sin," had so far helped Augustine's argument in proof of original sin. Now it is seen as a double-edged weapon, capable of recoiling on its author.

[1] *E.g.*, "De Nat. et Gr.," 23.

[2] It has already been stated that a change for the worse in our whole nature has ensued ("C. Gal.," iii. 26). Elsewhere this is called a "penalis vitiositas." Adam's sin is so enormous as to vitiate all his posterity, to change human nature for the worse ("Op. Imp.," i. 105; iv. 133; v. 29). Yet by one of the inconsistencies that grate painfully on our ears and hearts, Adam, of whose sin the enormity receives special recognition ("Op. Imp.," vi. 22), is yet unhesitatingly pronounced an heir of salvation, while countless myriads of innocent infants go to hell for that very sin. One would hardly envy the feelings of Adam in Paradise as he thinks of these helpless ones in the endless flame.

For if baptism, as Augustine held, eradicate all sin whatever, in thought, word, and deed, then how can those parents, in whose case the contagion has been wholly removed, continue to spread it in undiminished intensity? How can moral and spiritual death result from an agent who has passed from death to life? That baptism is not a disinfectant merely, but that, in Augustine's view, *it uproots all sin whatsoever* appears plain.[1] All sin in thought, word and deed is destroyed in baptism.[2] And yet perdition, damnation, necessity to sin, total loss of moral freedom, eternal death, etc., are communicated to all infants whatsoever, by those very parents in whom all sin has been destroyed! Evidently we are here in a region where ordinary modes of reasoning are dispensed with, else, in addition to other difficulties, it might be pointed out how very perplexing is the transfer of all the evils (with their infinite attendant horrors), born

[1] "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 13. [St. Augustine's language in this passage is by no means clear.—Ed.]

[2] "Ep.," 187, c. 8; see "C. d. Ep. Pel.," iii. 3; "De Nupt.," i. 33; "De Pecc. Mer.," i. 39.

of sexual desire from the parents, who feel it, to the infant, who feels nothing. To be sure, we are told that *libido* in the baptised parent is called sin, *but is not sin*, yet it has a "reatus" which "valet in generato."[1] This is, I think, substantially the explanation offered of the serious difficulty. On such subtleties as these, we are asked to believe, do the eternal destinies of the human race depend.

The embarrassment of the impartial critic is not lessened by the fact that Augustine himself scents a difficulty here. Even he finds it not easy to make "both ends meet." He intimates, in several passages, that Providence has arranged an illustration or explanation of the difficulty by ordering that from the seed of an olive a wild olive springs.[2] Whether this digression into natural history is very successful the reader can decide for himself. Those who are dissatisfied are offered an excursus into the domain of physiology, and are bidden to

[1] "De Nupt.," i. 23; "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 13.

[2] "C. d. Ep. Pel.," i. 6; "De Nupt.," i. 19; "Quod dimissum est in parente trahatur in prole, miris quidem modis fit, sed tamen fit," ii. 34.

take note that circumcised parents produce uncircumcised offspring.[1] Out of the cloud of words in which Augustine wraps this unsavoury question it transpires clearly that there is in marriage an "inevitabile malum," for the plain reason that there is *libido*, or *concupiscentia*, or *membrorum inobedientia*. On this point he speaks often and with emphasis. Characteristically he bids the married *malo bene uti*—to make a good use of the evil. He calls offspring one of the goods of marriage, an odd statement, seeing that every child *qua de concubito nascitur carnem esse peccati*,[2] and is the devil's captive[3] till baptised. There is an evil without which even honourable marital intercourse cannot exist.[4] There is in marriage a *mala libido* which may be well used.[5] There is a " vitium " which propagates vice.[6]

[1] "C. Jul.," vi. 7: "Ecce circumcisus tradit nascenti de se quo caruit in se."

[2] "De Nupt.," i. 12.

[3] *Ib.*, i. 20.

[4] " Ep.," 184: " Conjuges, etiam bene utentes vitio, non possunt ita generari, ut possit sine vitio."

[5] " C. Jul.," iii. 7.

[6] "Op. Imp.," ii. 57; cf. "De Pecc. Orig.," 34—38.

We now approach what is really the most important point in Augustine's theology, its rigid absolutism. Over the rotting mass of fallen humanity there presides, not Love, but a will which is altogether arbitrary—predestinating whom it pleases, and that irresistibly. For God cannot show mercy in vain.[1] Man can neither help himself nor resist effectually what God gives.[2] Here, then, we stand at the meeting of the ways—two paths open out. Starting from the axiom that God's Will may not in any case be deflected, we are brought face to face with this dilemma. We must give up our starting point or give up universal redemption. Here is, indeed, one of the greatest difficulties with which Augustine had to contend. Catholic antiquity never hesitated in its proclamation of universal redemption, *i.e.*, God's Will to save all men. Yet the great Western doctor does not really flinch for a moment. He boldly, though guardedly, asserts a redemption limited to the pre-

[1] "Ad Simpl.," I. i. 11. [I have been unable to find this passage.—Ed.]

[2] "De Cor. et Gr.," 12; "De Pred. Sanct.," 8.

destinated. God's Will, in fact, is not to save more than a fraction of humanity. This is, in fact, a theological revolution of the most emphatic description. The sternest Latinism had never before ventured to deny God's Will to save all men. On man it had always laid the burden of his eternal ruin, because, as free, he can reject God's gift. More logically, as I venture to think, Augustine swept aside all such subterfuges. But he did so at no less a cost than surrendering the very idea of a Gospel. He did so also at the certain risk of a collision with the whole body of primitive teaching. We may thus see why it is that while he expatiates on sin and grace he says little *directly* on limited redemption. But abundant evidence exists to show his meaning.

We will deal with this point in detail.

1. His entire system requires the doctrine of limited redemption on logical grounds.

2. He denies that God feels mercy or pity for all men.[1] He was forced either to deny God's will to save all men or to become a Universalist, for in his view God's will to

[1] "Op. Imp.," iv. 134.

save covers exactly the area of those who will be saved. A redemption of the world which did not in fact save the world was to him a contradiction in terms. Hence the dilemma. Either universal redemption must be false or universal salvation must be true.

3. His evident embarrassment—frequently shown—in dealing with such a text as that which asserts God's will to save all men,[1] shows clearly his disbelief in any such will. His struggles to evade the obvious meaning of the Apostle become wellnigh ludicrous. He asserts that all means many, or it means that all who are saved are so by God's will,[2] or all means all who are predestinated,[3] or some of all kinds,[4] in fact it may mean anything except that which it does evidently mean.

4. Next come those passages in which Augustine indirectly implies a limited redemption. Thus he speaks of Christ

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 4.
[2] "C. Jul.," iv. 8; "De Pred. Sanct.," 8.
[3] "De Cor. et Gr." (Migne x. A. 943).
[4] "Ench.," 10, 3.

as redeeming those sinners who were to be justified.[1] The Mediator makes those whom He has redeemed by His blood good for eternity.[2] The intention of the writer in these last passages is clearly to identify the redeemed and the finally saved. The two next quotations I borrow from Wiggers, i. 313[3]: "The words, St. John x. 26, are explained by Augustine in his forty-eighth homily on this Gospel as meaning: Ye believe not because ye are not ransomed by My blood to eternal life." Again, he asserts: "Not one of those perishes for whom Christ died."[4] These last words exactly express Augustine's doctrine. They do more, they explain how our author became practically a guide to Universalism to many holding firmly to a modified Calvinism (*e.g.*, in America and in England in the seventeenth century).

5. But he does not shrink from an explicit assertion of limited redemption, *e.g.*, every

1 "De Jr.," iv. 13.
2 "De Cor. et Gr.," 11.
3 Op. cit.
4 "Ep.," 169.

one who is redeemed by Christ's blood is a man, *yet not every one who is a man is redeemed by Christ's blood.*[1] I have said so much because I am well aware that Augustine does not scruple to use language which may at least seem to teach universal redemption.[2] He even says that "multi" in Rom. v. 12, 18, 19, means "all" (*omnes*). But he explains this to mean that all who attain life attain it through Christ.[3]

6. That his disciples Prosper and Hilary so understood Augustine is clear from their letters.[4] The statement that *Christ died for all men* is one of the doctrines expressly mentioned by Prosper for rejection, and that *twice in one letter*, and Augustine, who wrote in reply his treatises "De Predestinatione" and "De Perseverantia," says not a syllable to correct them. I will not trust myself to comment on the extraordinary spectacle of the greatest Western doctor's

[1] "De Conj. Adul.," i. 15.

[2] "C. Jul.," vi. 4, 5, 9, 26.

[3] See "De Pecc. Mer.," i. 28; "De Nat. et Gr.," 41, for most sophistical explanations to prove that we may speak of "all" while *some* only are meant.

[4] "Ep.," 225, 226.

denial of a central doctrine in the Christian scheme—denial, in fact, of the very words of the Truth itself, namely, *that* "*God so loved the world* that He gave His only begotten Son that all who believed in Him should not perish, but have eternal life." Thus Christ's work is dwarfed, it sinks in importance, it sinks in range, it bears no relation to the whole race of man; it becomes, on this assumption, a secondary not a primary fact. Specially noteworthy is the failure of Augustine, who is so often called Pauline, to apprehend one of the fundamental ideas of the great Apostle, namely, the extension to the whole universe of that work of Christ which Augustine restricts to a comparatively small portion of the human race. Nor is this all. The predestinated may not untruly be said to owe their safety to an absolute act of will on God's part, antecedently to all Atonement. By this principle Christ's salvation is still further dwarfed.

The real inference to be drawn from what has been said is that far fewer souls will be saved than those which are lost. Here, too,

Augustine had held the opposite doctrine. He had said that "very few remained to the devil."[1] Yet at almost the same time he took the opposite view, significantly adding that to God a multitude of sinners is nothing, *He knows what to do with them.*[2] And this remained his final opinion. The number of infants who are adopted by God and given grace[3] is far fewer than are those who are

[1] "De Trin.," iv. 13.

[2] "De Cat. Rud.," 19. [Speaking of the lost, Augustine here says, "*neque hoc nos moveri debet, quia multi diabolo consentiunt, et pauci* deum sequuntur . . . sicut agricola novit quid faciat de ingenti acervo paleæ, sic *nihil est Deo multitudo peccatorum, qui novit quid de illis agat.*" I fell in lately with an edition of this treatise intended chiefly for young students of theology. Yet *not one word is said* of this remarkable observation of a famous theologian, save that our Lord does not answer the question which the great Church Father is not afraid to answer, and that "the whole chapter is an excellent exposition of the hard and fast Augustinian doctrine of Predestination and Election." It is, indeed, a *very* excellent one. But does not the average clergyman need some caution that on these points Augustine is in conflict with the Catholic Church before and after his time, and that, therefore, like Origen—and much more than Origen—he should be read with caution?—Ed.]

[3] "C. Jul.," iv. 8.

not saved.[1] Those called are many—those elected are few.[2] Extremely few are saved (this is Augustine's latest conclusion).[3] An epistle of his declining years throws a painful light on the temper of his mind at that period. Incomparably greater than the number of the predestinated is the number of the lost, "*in order that by the very multitude of the rejected there should be declared how a just God cares nothing whatever about any number, however great, of those most justly damned.*"[4] A sentence which is surely among the most awful and most callous in the whole range of so-called theology. To show the range of thought I must add what goes before: "If *no others* were born except those adopted by God, the benefit (*grace*) which is granted to the unworthy would escape notice." Hell fires,

[1] "Ench.," 99.

[2] "De Cor.," 9, 10.

[3] "Op. Imp.," i. 136. He here does not attempt to deny that the number of such infants is "perexigui," as Julian objects.

[4] "Ep.," 190. Quam nullius momenti sit apud justum judicem quantilibet numerositas justissime damnatorum.

in a word, are kept blazing for ever, in order that the ten saved, who are really no better than the lost, may see by the light of the eternal agony of their brethren "what great things the Lord hath done for them." All this is too awful for comment.[1]

The next stage is the question, Does God then directly predestinate the lost? An authority so friendly to Augustine as Professor Mozley can see no distinction, in essence, between Augustine's doctrine of Predestination and that of Calvin. This is, I believe, true. In numerous passages Augustine asserts God's direct agency in the reprobation of sinners. He says that God predestinated some to the extremest pain;[2] that God predestinated some to eternal death;[3] that He justly predestinated

[1] Cf. "Ep.," 194, 186. Strangely paradoxical, supremely paradoxical is this spectacle of a heart seemingly aglow with love to God and harder than the nether millstone to the endless agony of his brothers and sisters.

[2] "Ep.," 204.

[3] "Qui est et illis quos prædestinavit ad æternam mortem justissimus supplicii retributor": "De Anima," iv. 11.

some to punishment.[1] Or take such phrases as these: "Damnandi predestinati," "Tanquam in furore quo iniquos damnare statuisti."[2] There is certainly a distinction between Augustine and Calvin on this point. Calvin is technically "supra-lapsarian" and Augustine "sub-lapsarian." That is to say, Calvin teaches that God reprobates prior to any human act; Augustine that God reprobates having given all men a free power of choosing *in Adam!* Thus Augustine can say that the evil will of the lost, and not God's decree, is the cause of their ruin.[3] Substantially the case stands thus: If mankind enjoyed free choice *in Adam*, then God condemns to all eternity those who have freely chosen evil. This is Augustine's meaning. That it differs from Calvin's teaching is *verbally* true.

We must here remark that once more, on this point, Augustine succeeds in adding

1 "Ench.," 100, 1.

2 "De Pecc. Mer.," ii. 17.

3 "De Pecc. Mer.," ii. 18; see "De Gr. et Lib. Arb.," 21. [The passage is one of some difficulty, and has obviously been altered by transcribers. —Ed.]

to the painful impression he has already made. There are those among the baptised who fear God, with whom he plays as a cat with a mouse. I can find no apter language to express my meaning. To some, it may be to very many, there is given, he tells us, a sort of *quasi*-grace, real but not permanent. He describes this class variously. They are regenerate and adopted,[1] devout,[2] God's righteous ones.[3] They live well and piously; they live according to God, who gives them that love by which they lead a Christian life—they have faith, hope, and love; they obey God.[4] Yet their tears are unavailing, their prayers are vain, their love fruitless. God withdraws His gifts, and they sink into the pit of hell, and there for ever lie. For they are—these are Augustine's

[1] "Op. Imp.," i. 130.

[2] "Ex duobus autem piis cur huic donetur perseverantiam usque ad finem, illi non donetur": "De Don. Per.," 9.

[3] "De Pecc. Mer.," iii. 13.

[4] "De Cor. et Gr.," 7—9, 13, "Mirandum est quidem multumque miraculum, quod filiis suis quibusdam Deus quos regeneravit in Christo, quibus fidem, spem, dilectionem dedit, non dat perseverantiam;" also "De Don. Per.," 22.

very words — "children of perdition."[1] When even Augustine shudders at his own doctrine, the case must be desperate indeed. Even from him this strange doctrine draws the cry that it is "*most true*," yet "*most evil*," most awkward, most unseemly, most outrageous.[2] It only remains, if we would make our picture complete, for us to point to Augustine as a persecutor, or more accurately an apologist for, and an earnest inciter to persecution.[3] He cannot indeed claim to be the first who approved persecution. Lucifer of Cagliari and Julius Firmicus Maternus anticipated him in this in the West, and his own words show that his North African contemporaries were of the same mind. But there is one thing the credit —or discredit—of which must be confessed to be truly his—he first drew up in form and order the arguments for persecution. When

[1] "De Cor. et Gr.," 13. [Augustine says nothing in this particular passage about tears, prayers, or love.—Ed.]

[2] "De Don. Per.," 22, "Improbissimum, importunissimum, incongruentissimum."

[3] "Ep.," 97: "Accelerandum suggero, peto, obsecro, flagitor."

he had written his "Contra Gaudeutium" and his 93rd, 185th and 204th Epistles, the Church was virtually in possession of a Manual of Persecution, and the most horrible chapter in Western ecclesiastical story has received the virtual sanction of the greatest of Western doctors. In earlier life he had opposed persecution.[1] And we are bound to admit that he opposed the infliction of a death penalty on the Donatists.[2] Yet on this we can lay slight stress, for these plain reasons:—First, his arguments justify the death penalty; next, consistently with this he elsewhere does advocate it.[3] And thirdly, exile and confiscation in such a state of things as he himself described as existing in the North African Church would often mean death.

We must regretfully admit that no picture of Augustine would be adequate which did

[1] "Ep.," 93: "Mea prima sententia non erat nisi neminem ad unitatem Christi esse cogendum."

[2] "Ep.," 100, 139.

[3] "De Ut. Jej.," 9; "C. Gaud.," i. 28. Thus he says, "Your ancestors handed Cæcilianus over to kings for punishment by their slanders—*let the lions be turned on to crushing the bones of the slanderers*": "Ep.," 95, 5.

not recognise the zeal he throws into the advocacy of this awful theory. It is not too much to say that when he had finished his case for persecution there remains literally no Scripture text unperverted and no sophism unemployed in order to justify it. The Inquisition may fairly boast that it has virtually received a complete authorisation from the greatest of the Western doctors. We are constrained to confess that the Torquemadas of a later age had but to turn to the most famous Latin theologian in order to find sanction and applause for the greatest scandal of Western Christianity. Let us examine his language. We shall see how characteristic is the mode in which, having changed his opinions, he flings himself with ardour into the advocacy of this terrible theory. There is no odious feature in the later advocacy of persecution, which is wanting in his pages. He limits the gentleness of the Church which thus treats the heretic.[1] The cruelties involved are duly glossed over. Torture is not openly advocated, but it is involved in that

[1] "Ep.," 93, c. 3 (9).

which is warmly advocated. And little imagination is needed to discover the Inquisitor with his honeyed cruelties masked behind the great Bishop of Hippo.

We will now give proofs of what has been said. The Donatists may most justly be said to kill themselves when they are killed.[1] Persecution is justified because of the proclamation made by the King of Nineveh on the occasion of Jonah's visit;[2] because we are to "compel men to come in;" and because persecution snatches many from hell.[3] Kings are sometimes God's prophets, and may justly punish those outside the Church.[4] The spoiling of the Canaanites[5] by the Israelites is adduced as an example, as is also the fact that the lions devoured Daniel's enemies.[6] In another treatise we find the following pleas for persecution. The words, "Be

1 "C. Gaud.," i. 28.
2 *Ib.*, 25, 34.
3 *Ib.*, 29.
4 *Ib.*, 34.
5 *Ib.*, 38.
6 *Ib.*, 39. Readers will note that more than one of these instances justify death penalties.

wise now therefore, O ye kings," etc., mean that kings are to serve God by persecution.[1] It is no more than parental diligence. A remedy must not be given up if some are incurable. Prov. xxvii. 6 is cited on behalf of the persecutor because God draws us to become persecutors. Sarah afflicted Hagar, and Nebuchadnezzar threatened to persecute. And, finally, terror is the sole remedy for the Donatists—not to terrorise would be to render evil for evil. Such further pleas may be added as those which follow. Shepherds sometimes bring back a straying lamb by stripes; the Church, the true Mother, cannot, whatever she does, be really rendering evil for evil. Elijah slew the false prophets. St. Paul handed some over to Satan. If the New Testament contains no instance of persecution by kings, that is only so in consequence of the kings not being Christian. Persecution—even to death—of Pagans meets with universal approval. It is not the fact of compulsion, but the motive which is to be regarded, because the remaining tribes decreed to make war on the two and a

[1] "Ep.," 93, c. 3.

half tribes across the Jordan.[1] Adultery, under the law, is so punished, and why not heresy (sacrilege)? St. Paul "appealed to Cæsar." Not to save at cost of persecution would be cruel. St. Paul spoke of being ready to avenge disobedience.[2] We are to persecute because in Scripture a father is bidden to smite with a rod a disobedient son.[3] If we use compulsion to benefit a man physically, why not also spiritually?[4] It is from such passages as these that we may ascertain Augustine's true position. Nothing can illustrate more completely the transition from early Latin Christianity to its mediæval forms. This is why I have quoted with some fulness here.

[1] Further pleas are to be found in "Ep.," 185. It It would be cruel to spare heretics: (1) Ps. xviii. 38, says, "I will persecute (*persequor*) my foes"; (2) The charity of the Church is that which leads her to persecute; (3) It is mercy to persecute even though some may be driven to kill themselves in order to escape persecution—better so than that all should be cast into hell; (4) Only thus can kings "serve God in fear" (Ps. ii.).

[2] 2 Cor. x. 6.

[3] "Ep.," 173.

[4] *Ib.*

We now come to Augustine's views as to property. These illustrate the lengths to which he went in his conclusions, and form, with what has been said on persecution, an interesting comment on the picture of him as a mild and gentle saint so often presented to the world, especially in art. They illustrate no less a point alluded to elsewhere—how no part of human life escaped the wide sweep of his comprehensive mind. It is his opinion that neither the wicked nor the heretical have any just claim to hold property.[1] Apart from righteousness, he asks—What are States but robberies on a great scale?[2] "*La propriété*," replies a modern Socialist, "*c'est le vol.*" So extravagant a proposition as Augustine's it is impossible to carry out logically, and therefore he makes certain concessions, *e.g.*, there is an earthly justice which stands apart from justice ideally

[1] [It is worthy of note that the strange theory of Wiclif, for which he has been so severely handled by writers who are accustomed to belittle Protestantism, namely, that the title to property is founded in "grace," is derived from Augustine.—Ed.]

[2] "De Civ. D.," iv. 4.

regarded, and the earthly society or state has certain inherent rights to obedience. Yet in strictness, because righteousness[1] can only exist in the Divine state, there is no right to any property outside the Church. This is the Divine right on which all other rights ultimately rest. Augustine certainly recognises a human right which is the creation of law, *i.e.*, of the Emperor, but evidently this is subordinate to the other. As against the Donatists he points out that both held good. Truly odious and detestable is the tone in which he claims for "*the Dove*," meaning by this the Church Catholic, property given to the Donatist Church. Elsewhere he defends taking away their Church property, because the Psalmist declares the righteous shall eat the labours of the wicked, and because Christ says "the kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and given to a righteous nation."[2] We may notice that on the allied questions of

[1] [It must be remembered that the Latin *justitia* stands for two different words both in Greek and English, *i.e.*, for *justice* and *righteousness.*—Ed.]

[2] St. Matt. xxi. 43; "C. tit. Pel.," ii. 43.

persecution and the rights of property his arguments justify more than he practically advocated. As a rule, he desires persecution to stop short of death, but his arguments, and in some cases his words, really justify any amount of severity. Again, as a rule, though not always, it is Church property whose forcible seizure from the heretics he defends, but his arguments justify the seizure of any kind of property by the true Church from the outsider.[1]

Augustine has been gravely censured for his supposed approval of a husband's or a wife's right to act now as Sarah did when she gave Hagar to Abraham.[2] His words

[1] On the whole subject see "C. Gaud.," i. 37; "De Doct. Christ.," ii. 40; "Ep.," 47, 93, 185.

[2] [The extraordinary treatment by Augustine of the mother of his son Adeodatus, whose faithfulness to and affection for himself he does not pretend to deny, has received very little attention in ecclesiastical quarters. And the fact that his mother Monica thoroughly identified herself with his action is a serious blot on the saintliness of both. The man who so treated a woman who had lived with him for years in a tie which was not altogether unrecognized by Roman law, though forbidden by the Christian Church, would be scouted in English society at the present time. Most certainly such a man would be

are, at any rate, extremely unfortunate ; nor can I say that such an interpretation as that above is without foundation.[1] One item more and the mournful list is closed. The Church had long tolerated slavery. But this was not enough for her great theologian. He characteristically took up the extremest possible position. He has not hesitated to proclaim slavery to be a divinely ordered institution. He has declared its abolition impious. He has pronounced it to be as necessary and as durable as society itself.

In what has been said I have tried, as far as possible, to set down the matured moral and theological system of Augustine in his own words. But I purposely decline to weaken the impression those words are likely to make on my readers by turning aside to discuss various *minutiæ*, the examination of which would only obscure the real issue. In reading these latest books of his

denied the title of saint. See *Confessions*, vi., ch. 13–16. —Ed.]

[1] The passages are "De Civ. D.," v. 3, xv. 25; "De Ser. Dom.," i. 16.

we are following in thought a funeral procession, where the dearest hopes of humanity are being slowly, sadly borne to the grave. It is a dirge, not an evangel, to which we are listening. It is no pæan of victory; it is a long wail over nineteen-twentieths of our race. Unlike his apologists, Augustine does not conceal the awful nature of his message. He openly confesses it to be a proclamation of vengeance. It is infinite ruin, dimly, feebly illuminated by an infinitesimal redemption! True, he writes of the City of God, but he makes it clear that this is in truth but an insignificant hamlet, entirely dwarfed by the metropolis of Satan. The best our greatest Western doctor has to offer us is hardly more than a lesson in morbid anatomy. In his later writings the corpse of humanity is dissected, its moral diseases analysed. The knife of the demonstrator searches out every tissue, and proves recovery hopeless, except to a mere fraction of the race. In this system, which has captured Western Christianity for so many centuries, sin is central, triumphant, eternal. Instead of a theology, he gives us an

elaborate criminology. His ripened thoughts bear us away in spirit remorselessly, irresistibly, to that land of which the patriarch speaks, "the land of darkness, and the shadow of death, a land of thick darkness, as of darkness itself."[1] It is certainly not a little startling to find such a system put forth as that of immemorial tradition in the Church, and more startling still to find it specially fathered on that Apostle who declares that "in Christ shall all be made alive." It is strange indeed to find such hopeless pessimism put forward as the only true meaning of the "glad tidings of great joy" which the angels proclaimed to "all people."

It will be said that such an estimate of the great Father of the West is marked by gross exaggeration and extravagance. He "jests at scars," I reply, "who never felt a wound." Far nearer the truth is the assertion that to brand Calvin for doctrines of which Augustine is the true author involves an amount of injustice which has rarely been surpassed. The real truth is

[1] Job x. 22.

that between us and the genuine Augustine a thousand barriers have been reared by theologians who hold a brief for what they suppose to be "orthodoxy." A thousand versions, more or less misleading, are now in circulation, so absolute has been the dictatorship which he has enjoyed for centuries upon centuries. It has been found easy to produce touching sentences from the Confessions, as though Augustine had written nothing else; easy to dwell on fanciful representations by popular artists of Augustine and Monica, as they are discussing the life reserved for the blessed. But the historian ought not to forget the other side of the picture, which shows us Augustine as the prophet of despair, who not only cast his spell over the life of his own age, but ruled a thousand years with a rod of iron, continually wailing aloud his despairing cry, "Grave jugum, grave jugum super filios hominum,"[1] destroying the Fatherhood of

[1] Eccl. xi. 1; "C. Jul.," iii. 6. [The words are, "Hujus autem sæculi dispositionem propter vitium superbiæ hominis, per quod apostatavit a Deo, diversis malis hominum peragi in jugo gravi super filios Adam."—Ed.]

God, denying Christ's redemption of the world, and carrying into ordinary practical life his fierce theories about the Father and the Son. Let those who cry "exaggeration" sit down and with open mind endeavour to realise what all this must have meant, and *has* meant, to the mass of Christians. It means that they have been compelled, under pain of heresy, to believe that every infant born into the world is condemned to the irrevocable wrath of God without hope, except within the narrow circle of an unknown and unknowable predestination; that neither the prayers nor tears nor struggles of such souls are of the least avail, wherever the special gift of perseverance has not been granted; and that when infants are saved by baptism, it is only where an early death has prevented the addition of actual sin to original guilt. It will be rejoined that there are in Augustine to the last some nobler elements. I gladly admit this, and shall return to the subject presently. But it is only fair to ask the reader to remember that, unlike Calvin, Augustine had been placed in close contact

with a truly Catholic theology. He had in his earliest books even leaned towards the larger hope, influenced, doubtless, by current belief. For the strange but undoubted fact, usually evaded, of a very widespread theological optimism at this date in North Africa must be clearly kept in view,[1] due almost certainly to an infiltration of Hellenism. If his language as to future punishment is often less lurid than Calvin's the reason is easily found. It would be strange, indeed, if in a mass of writings like his there were not found some reminiscences of a happier past, as in northern climates—once milder—there linger stray blossoms, memorials of a vanished Flora. Yet who can say that such survivals really represent the present climate or vegetation? It is so in the case we are considering. Truth compels the statement that, taken as a whole, Augustine's language at the close betrays a harshness and callousness quite as painful as that of Geneva at its worst. Nor have we any right to forget that Augustine, and *no one else*, invented this deplorable

[1] "Imo quam plurimi": "Ench.," 112.

transmutation of the true Catholic Faith. On his shoulders, therefore, and his alone, must fairly lie, for weal or woe, the responsibility for this travesty of true Christianity. Prosper, and even Calvin, are mere imitators. A good many unworthy things have been said and done by theological apologists, but surely nothing more unworthy than the attempt to transfer the blame for having originated this system from the shoulders of Augustine to those of Calvin. The honest historian will be compelled to invert the well-known adage, and to say of Augustine: "His virtues were those of his age; his errors are his own."

* * *

We may briefly enumerate the innovations introduced by this system; many of them very grave. First and foremost, it stood alone in the close connection it established between original sin and sexual relations. Sin, *i.e.*, *malum*, is thus a necessary attendant on every marriage, and it is propagated by physical generation and its attendant sexual desire. It further stood alone in maintaining an actual sinning on the part

of mankind in Adam; alone in maintaining that only freedom to sin remained after the Fall; alone in teaching the endless damnation of all unbaptised infants. It stood alone in denying God's will to save all men and Christ's death for all men; alone in asserting an absolute and arbitrary predestination and a double call. The gravity of these questions justifies the term "revolution" applied to the Augustinian movement. Nor is this less true because admittedly the Church never *in practice* identified herself formally with Augustinianism as a whole. Still, she canonised Augustine and, not content with this, proclaimed him a Doctor, and at the least enough of Augustine's system was embodied in her teaching to produce a complete change in the centre of gravity of the Christian religion. A novel atmosphere was generated, involving the introduction of a new theological vocabulary.

The proofs of the occurrence of such a revolution have been given in these pages as completely as space permitted—the *pièces de conviction* have at least been indicated, but there is one proof most cogent which it is

impossible to produce with any reasonable amount of fulness. It is this: Let any fair critic take up, I do not say a Hellenistic Father, but even any preceding Latin divine, and place his works side by side with the books embodying Augustine's spirit. The contrast will be found very startling. The topics themselves are altered, the questions at issue are new, the whole standpoint is changed, the very terminology betrays the novelty of the teaching.

* * *

One of the fatal results of Augustine's career was the very great impulse inevitably, if indirectly, given to dissimulation. It would be most unfair to doubt his sincerity—it would be no less a mistake to shut our eyes to the sophistical character of too many of his arguments. He is Prince among harmonisers, *facile princeps* here as in so many other ways. He may almost be said to have naturalised the sophism in ecclesiastical literature, and to have done this, strange to say, in good faith—a paradox which is only to be explained on the hypothesis that, as it grew under his hand, his system finally

obsessed and so blinded him. More painful still, because more wilful, was the dissimulation forced on the Western Church when the glamour had passed away—a dissimulation which embraced the Puritan and the Churchman of the present day. Augustine had been proclaimed Saint and Doctor. But the price had now to be paid. He was no Jonah who could be flung overboard. And so the Latin Church found herself committed to a system on which it was practically impossible for any society claiming to be genuinely Catholic to act. Deriving renewed vigour from the gradual waning of the *prestige* of her Eastern sister and rival in the fifth and following centuries, the Western Church awakened to find herself in the grasp of the great Carthaginian whose special teaching to this day she has never been able to disavow. I do not know that a position at once more unique and more grave can be found than that confronting the Western Church after the Bishop of Hippo had become not Saint merely, but *Doctor* of the Latin Church. If any one should ask how this difficulty has been met, Goethe's

well-known line supplies the only possible answer: "*Die Kirche hat einen guten Magen.*" She must indeed have had an amazing power of assimilating incongruous materials. For beside the vast heritage of dissimulation her great Doctor bequeathed to the Church, she absorbed also a mass of explosive matter which at times broke into open revolt. I do not dwell on the immemorial squabbles of Dominican and Franciscan, nor would I over-estimate the significance of such movements as Jansenism. It is enough to say that in an appeal to Augustine there lay always a source of danger to the Church, since both sides could claim him as their authority. It might not be difficult to bury him under a mountain of glosses and comments. But the buried giant was not dead. A smouldering fire lay under his ashes, and, as the sixteenth century showed, it could on occasion burst into a conflagration. Among the many paradoxes we meet in his career none is more remarkable than the fact that one of the Church's most obedient sons furnished their materials to men who, eleven centuries later, destroyed her unity and

attacked her authority. Thus it is hardly a paradox to say that, even while professing the utmost loyalty to the Church, he was in fact the earliest advocate of the right of private judgment. In this sense he is a precursor of Luther, not alone by the strong dialectic affinities which existed between them, but by his very method and spirit; just as he anticipated, by an artificial and subtle dialectic, the rationalism of the schoolmen; while by his appeal to an "occult justice" he reminds us that agnostic theologians like Mansel are really borrowing his weapons.[1] We can hardly estimate the extent of the revolution caused by this theology unless we bear in mind the enormous area it covered. He flung his net far and near—law, marriage, politics, property, slavery, life civil, social, individual, all were in turn annexed by it—its gloomy shadow fell over them all.

[1] [It is true that Dean Mansel errs by substituting the abstract ideas of metaphysicians for the Personal and Living God, and that, in one part of his famous Bampton Lectures, he reasons on the same principles as the Agnostic. But, by a happy inconsistency, he abandons that position in other parts of the same Lectures and deals some shrewd blows at Agnostic teaching.—Ed.]

Taken literally, it was too hard a yoke even for the dark centuries that preceded the great scholastic movement, with its partial and half-wistful recognition of the human reason and its rights. Versions of Augustine's doctrinal system soon became current —softened down to suit popular consumption. A double motive inspired this process. It was necessary to dilute the terrorism of the system; it was expedient in doing so to glorify the Church. The *modus operandi* is easy to follow, but the story is curious, for we find Augustinianism, at whose very centre lay elements tending to undermine the Church's system, converted at last into a prop of that very system. Gradually, in place of the far-off inscrutable decree, the Church itself was substituted. Her ministries, visible, practical, accessible, soothed the anxious sinner who in the priest and his mysterious office forgot the "occult justice" of Heaven, and the terrible doom awaiting those who prayed and wept unavailingly because they had not received the grace of perseverance. A religious twilight took the place of the impenetrable gloom of

Augustinianism pure and simple. Purgatory itself was largely developed as a sort of rampart against the *Inferno* Augustine had created. The cult of saints—indulgence—pilgrimages — each received a fresh and ever-growing impulse. Spiritual opiates were compounded and were on sale everywhere on easy terms. At length an auspicious hour dawned on the weary advocates of this amazing system. Calvin was born, and became what we may term a heresy-conductor. The opprobrium which had threatened the Bishop of Hippo glided harmlessly aside on the sturdy shoulders of the heretical theologian of Geneva.

* * *

Fully and unreservedly have I tried to recognise the nobler side of the great Father of the West, to do justice to his deep fervour and genuine devotion, to his unrivalled gifts. I believe his most valuable legacy to the Church was the impulse he communicated to the cause of personal religion. It is here that his favourable influence on religion begins—when he abandons the field of dogma—when he forgets his

theory of the Divine Decrees and remembers the living God. Nay, even when—may I venture to say it?—he ceases to extol the inscrutable thing, called grace by divines, of which the only fact known is that nothing can be known except its arbitrariness.[1] Then his wings are unfolded, and he can soar, if only for a little while, to higher regions, where Pelagian and Donatist cease to trouble, and God and man meet. Here his past helped Augustine. It is one of his chiefest merits to have been the first to teach in all its fulness the great lesson of conversion to a world that has always needed, and will always need, this lesson. He has done so supremely and with an impressiveness unknown to Christian experience since that night when the great Apostle went out from his Master's presence and wept bitterly. Thus, with a power all his own, Augustine brought the spirit of man to feel its dependence every hour on "God—yea, even the living God." Thus has he become the

[1] [The author is not here referring to the *χάρις* of the New Testament, which is by no means identical with the "grace" of later theologians.—Ed.]

parent of what is best in the devotion of men like à Kempis. It is because he FLUNG HIMSELF ON GOD. In these his highest moments the Church vanishes, its ritual is forgotten, its hierarchy disappears, and man and God meet—Spirit to spirit—with no intermediate barrier set up between them.

Yet history demands the whole truth. If I should say that the true man is to be found in his flashes of insight or bursts of devotion, and not in his doctrinal system, I lend myself to one of those half-truths that are more dangerous than falsehood—I debase our historical currency—I draw, not a portrait, but a caricature. Even an inquisitor has his moments of tenderness. Am I, therefore, bound to conceal the tortures he authorises? A sensualist has his hours of bitter loathing of himself. Am I, therefore, to fling a veil over his excesses? A tyrant can at times be even kind and sympathetic. Ought I to gloss over his cruelties?

* * *

The difficulty before the impartial inquirer is not to discover what Augustine really

taught. This the great Bishop never affects to conceal. It lies in estimating his teaching as the truth requires—without incurring the reproach of manifest extravagance on the one hand, or condoning his errors on the other. One *must*, when speaking of the matured Augustinian system, say plainly that at its touch the God who is Love vanishes, the Saviour who died for sinners disappears, the Gospel withers away. Instead of the glorious spectacle of redeemed humanity, we are confronted with a seething mass of leprosy, *una massa peccati—conspersio damnata*. All, with the exception of a predestinated few, are slowly marching along on an enforced pilgrimage from a defiled birth to a grave that is the pathway to endless fires. The decrees which snatch from hell, disconnected and mutually inconsistent, are absolutely unintelligible, absolutely divorced from merit of any kind in the chosen. And I know not whether of the two be the more painful to the heart and conscience—the wail of the lost, who have never really had any chance of escape, or the exultation of the few saved, as they soar aloft regardless

of the endless agony and despair of their brothers.

Enough has been said of the painful heritage of dissimulation forced on the Western Church by its acceptance of Augustinianism, but no view of its author can be complete unless it lay due emphasis on the steady downward course of his doctrine of the Divine dealings with man. No similar phenomenon exists in the case of any other ancient teacher—nothing that even resembles this in the gravity of its changes and in their uniform tendency towards the worst—towards a hardness and complete callousness of tone and spirit. Let me, in conclusion, mention some at least of these:—Augustine had been an advocate of infant innocence.[1] He passed on to teach infant damnation. He had been on the verge of optimism. He became a thorough pessimist. He had asserted human free will. He ended with an assertion that only freedom to sin remained after the Fall. He had thought slavery wrong. He ended by proclaiming it a Divine thing.

[1] "De Lib. Arb.," iii. 23.

He had taught that all deserving heathen outside the Jewish fold were saved. He finished by denying this and explaining it away.[1] He had thought persecution to be unjustifiable. He became its warm and elaborate advocate. He had once thought that the saved would greatly outnumber the lost. He altered his view to the exactly opposite.

This is a true picture. Slowly, steadily, surely, as his thoughts developed, the fetters were drawn ever tighter round the human spirit. More and more dim grew the light, the gloom more oppressive, the austere twilight of earlier Latinism faded into the chill of night. Hope fled for the world at large. Humanity lay bleeding to death at the feet of a rigorous and awful judge. For all explanation it was assured that in the dim past ages before birth it had sinned somehow (*per rationem seminis !*) and deserved an endless death.

Nor is this all. He further left mankind with many of the motives to progress paralysed; with the principles at the root

[1] "De Pred.," 9, 10.

of all morality seriously compromised; with slavery as a divinely ordered and therefore permanent element of human society; with persecution enjoined as a positive duty to God; with a nameless haunting fear overshadowing the soul; with a harrowing uncertainty weighing on even the holiest all their lives through doubt as to whether they would be granted the grace of perseverance;[1] a fear, awful, inscrutable, deadly, lest by an arbitrary act of will that grace might at the last moment be withdrawn, and they might, after all, be plunged, after vain prayers and tears, in endless pains, victims of a God, in fact, more terrible than man's unassisted ingenuity had ever devised, though He continued, but in word only, the God of Love.

[1] "De Cor. et Gr.," 13.

CONCLUSION

BY THE EDITOR

Now that the Editor of this work has come to the conclusion of a (for him) somewhat laborious task, it may be well that he should add a few concluding words before committing this venture to the world.

First, it is only right that he should say that, on the whole, he personally feels that the general impression of Augustine and his utterances presented by this work is justified by the facts. Particular expressions of the Author may be held to be too strong, and in the case of some few of the passages commented upon by him, the Editor has been unable to verify them without a good deal more labour than he—the Editor—had strength for. But that the startling facts recorded in these pages suggest considerable doubt as to the correctness of what may be described as the popular

view of Augustine and his teaching, even among theologians of mark, can hardly be denied. It is quite true—indeed, the Author himself expressly acknowledges the fact,[1] that a perfectly different impression of Augustine might be presented by a *catena*, not only from his earlier, but even from his later works, by a process with which the students of modern criticism are by no means unfamiliar — that of presenting to the reader only one class of facts, and those only regarded from one particular point of view, and of ignoring such light as could be thrown on the question by other lines of investigation, past, present, or such as might conceivably be presented in future. But it should be needless to point out to the candid inquirer that no treatment of a subject is thorough, or even fair, which does not admit the duty, not only of viewing a question from all possible sides, but of collecting all facts whatsoever which may help us to arrive at a right conclusion.

If it be indeed true that this work has

[1] P. 177.

thrown a new and much needed light on the character of Augustine's mind and the nature of his teaching, both the student of Christian evidence and the theologian who desires to reconcile theology with science will find their tasks considerably lightened. The former will be grateful for the discovery that neither St. Paul, nor the "Fourth Gospel," nor our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, has taught the doctrines which have long been popularly believed, by Christians and their assailants alike, to be of the essence of Christian faith. They owe their origin to the experiences, bad and good, as well as to the imagination, of the great Teacher of the West, and also to the peculiar—the almost unprecedented—condition of the world when he lived and died. The notions — very widely indeed accepted—that innocent beings, from the Creation downwards, have been cruelly punished for sins which were not their own; that the number of the damned will exceed the number of the saved; that damnation, as well as salvation, has no regard to man's character or conduct, but is the result

of an arbitrary Divine decree pronounced before the wretched sufferers under it were brought into existence; that Atonement and Justification must necessarily have taken place through a mutual transference of merits and offences between the Saviour and the saved; the belief in the unconditional damnation of unbaptized infants; in short, the whole monstrous crop of moral difficulties which have dogged the steps of our holy religion for fifteen centuries — all these form *no part whatever* of the original "deposit" of the Christian Faith, no part of the teaching of Christ or His Apostles, but are the result of the workings of a mind of no common order, and of moral and mental experiences of a very unusual description, at least among theologians of repute. The scientific theologian will also find himself —indeed for a long time he has been coming to suspect the fact — free from the necessity of adopting a philosophy at variance with recent discoveries in the region of physical science. It has for some time past been more or less dimly

perceived that the theologians of the East, whether Greek, Alexandrian, or Syrian, regarded the Being of God and the Evolution of Phenomena from a standpoint entirely different from that which their Western brethren have taken up. The Divine Being was regarded in the East far less as a Potentate, and far more as a Power.[1] Even in the West these ideas of Eastern theologians were originally in the ascendant, although tendencies in the direction of Augustinianism were discernible from the very first. Even there, too, Augustine's novelties were received with decided, though subdued, expressions of alarm and suspicion. But in the East it was universally recognized that God was the ultimate source from which (or rather Whom) all being, Divine or other, proceeded; the mighty Power or Force by which (or Whom) the whole universe was created or kept in being. Even the so-called "Persons" (or "Hypostases") in the

[1] It should not be forgotten that the idea involved in the Hebrew name for God—Elohim—signifies aggregates of *Power* or *Force*.

Trinity themselves flowed from the Father, the ultimate source of all Being whatsover, and thus owed even their Being to Him. The existence of all created being was traced to a mysterious spiritual effluence from Him, and the life of each individual believed to be due to a perpetual inflow of life from this source. The doctrine of the Fall of Man resolved itself from a *doctrine* into a *fact*. Man alone among the visible creation was endowed with the faculty of transgressing the law of his being, and his first transgression —and there must have been a first—was the Fall. The remedy for this transgression, the frightful results of which were everywhere visible, was the Incarnation of the Divine Word. And the object of that Incarnation was not merely the reconciliation of the offending creature with the offended Creator, but the restoration of man to his original condition of sinlessness, as well as of favour with God. But this is not all. Man was not merely restored to his original position. He was exalted to a higher one. The Incarnation of the

Word was thus a step in the Evolution of Humanity. The final step of all was the impartation, to each individual who would receive it, of the restored, perfected, triumphant Nature of His Redeemer, through which the whole body of mankind, renewed, purified, became one Family in unbroken union with God.

Thus we find that the two great theological schools of the East, those of Alexandria and Antioch, are in definite opposition to the system of Augustine, which, though it may have been modified in details, was never definitely rejected in the West until sometime after the Reformation. And it is clear that Augustine's system was not formally put forth, either in East or West, as the teaching of any portion of the Christian Church, but gradually superseded that teaching. Thus, as was pointed out by Vincentius of Lerins very shortly after the death of Augustine, his dogmas lack the conditions demanded for all teaching properly called Catholic; that is to say that it must have been taught "everywhere, always, and in all Christian communities"

generally reputed as orthodox.[1] The two above-mentioned Eastern Schools made the Incarnation, not Atonement for Sin, the core and centre of the Christian scheme, and its ultimate object, in their eyes, was not the pardon and acceptance of mankind, but their restoration, exaltation, and ultimate perfection. And what the Eastern Churches universally held was certainly, at the very least, as probable an inference from primitive teaching as the elaborate system which Augustine built on that teaching. Thus Evolution—not the evolution of the ultra-Darwinist, which is the result of a blind and unexplainable tendency inherent in the creature, but the result of the Will of the Creator, not approaching His creatures from without, but controlling their development from within—is not, as is so often supposed in our day, a principle antagonistic to the teaching of Christ, but a most natural and probable deduction from it.

[1] The words "ab omnibus" were not meant by Vincentius to include all human beings whatsoever, which would have been a palpable absurdity. *Some* such limitation as that which is added in the text must have been present to his mind.

The Hellenist and the Syrian, it is true, displayed a strong tendency to the belief —Universalism, as it is called—that all men will eventually be saved. Yet if we are forbidden to say that *none* are annihilated—*none* thrust, by a moral necessity, into the outer darkness where are "wailing and gnashing of teeth," we may at least gladden ourselves with the hope that the many are saved, and only the few irrevocably lost. And, with many modern thinkers of note, we may regard life here more as an education than as a probation, and may believe that this educational process is continued in the world to come, until such time as each one of us has been able, under Divine guidance, to detach himself (or herself) from the slough of corruption which has clung round us, more or less, from our birth, and so to be translated into "the glorious liberty of the children of God." Thus, as the Christian casts his eyes towards the distant future, they will fix themselves, not so much as in past days on the terrible doom of the ungodly, and the deliverance of a select few from so dismal

a fate, as on the glorious "Restoration of all things,"[1] in which the great mass of mankind, if we are forbidden to say all, shall be permitted to have a share, by reason of the working in each soul of the Eternal Spirit, unceasingly imparting to that soul the Flesh and Blood of its Incarnate and Redeeming Lord.[2]

[1] Ἀποκατάστασις πάντων; Acts iii. 21.

[2] This view of the case has been ably presented of late by Professor Allen, in his *Continuity of Christian Thought*, and by our Author in his *Race and Religion*, in which he discusses the "Place of Hellenistic Theology in Christian Thought."

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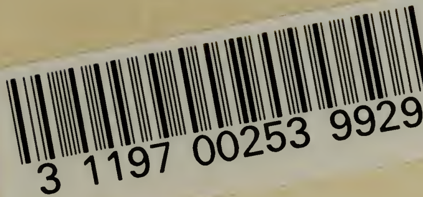

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